00082943

913.32
Egy1Bub
32943

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from

on 10 July, 2018

BUBASTIS.

(1887-1889.)

BY

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

EIGHTH MEMOIR OF

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.

With Fifty-four Plates.

82943

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

LONDON:

Messrs. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.

1891.

00082943

LONDON:
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LIMITED,
ST. JOHN'S HOUSE, CLERKENWELL ROAD, E.C.

PREFACE

THE present volume contains the description of all that has been discovered in the excavations at Bubastis, with one exception. I did not include in it the numerous inscriptions referring to the great festival of Osorkon II., which will be the subject of a supplementary volume. By the great number of plates which it will require, the description of this festival would have been quite out of keeping with the rest of the book; and it would differ also in character from this memoir, which bears chiefly on the historical results of the excavations.

When I settled in 1887, with Mr. Griffith, on the well-known mounds of Tell Basta, where the dealers in antiquities have been working for years—the extent of which has been much reduced by the fellaheen digging for "sebakh," or by the construction of the railway, and which Mariette had pronounced so little encouraging for scientific explorers—I was far from expecting such a large crop of monuments belonging to various epochs of Egyptian history, during a period of 4000 years.

In 1887, a month's work brought to light the second hall of the temple, the "Festival Hall," where we found, among numerous inscriptions of Rameses II. and Osorkon II., remains of the twelfth dynasty, and cartouches of Pepi, showing that the city went as far back as the sixth dynasty.

In 1888 the Rev. W. MacGregor and Count d'Hulst joined the work. This campaign has been the most productive. Its riches may be appreciated by what is seen in Ghizeh, in the British Museum, at Boston, and in several other museums of Europe, America, and even Australia. During that winter the Hyksos remains were found, as well as the statue of Ian-Ra, both showing that Bubastis had been an important Hyksos settlement. Therefore it was not a purely Egyptian city of high antiquity, reconstructed by Rameses and Osorkon, as might have been concluded from the first excavations. The strangers had

dwelt in the city, and had left in its temple important traces of their dominion.

In 1889 Mr. Griffith was prevented from going to Egypt by his appointment at the British Museum. Dr. Goddard, from America, took his place. We excavated the cemetery of cats. In the temple, the limits of which had been reached in the preceding year, we had chiefly to roll the blocks of the first hall, where appeared the names of Cheops and Chefren of the fourth dynasty. These names proved that the antiquity of the temple was higher than we thought. Thus, each year modified in certain respects the ideas which I had formed on the age and the nature of the edifice, and therefore it was preferable to wait for the publication of the results until the excavations were completed. It enabled me to give a general view of the history of the edifice, which, though smaller, is like Karnak, a summary of the history of the country.

I have to express my gratitude to the Director of the Antiquities of Egypt, M. Grébaut, for authorizing me to excavate at Tell Basta, and for the kind help he lent me in my work.

The plates of this volume are of two kinds, phototypes and linear plates. We made a much greater use of photography than in former excavations; and in this respect I have to thank my friend, the Rev. W. MacGregor, for his liberality in letting me make use of his negatives, several of which have been reproduced in this volume. A few photographs are the work of the skilled hand of Brugsch-Bey. The phototypes have been made by the firm of F. Thévoz and Co., in Geneva, and are on the whole very satisfactory. In appreciating them it must be remembered that both the Rev. W. MacGregor and I are amateur photographers; neither of us have made a special study of this delicate and difficult art. For this reason several of the negatives were not very good; besides, whenever some natives are included in the picture, it is hardly possible to persuade them to remain motionless.

I am indebted to my countryman, M. E. Cramer, who lives at Cairo, for the architectural drawing of the lotus-bud column, and to Count d'Hulst for one of the photographs and for the plan. As for the linear plates, they have been drawn from paper-casts by Mme. Naville, and printed by the same firm as the phototypes.

I must not forget to thank particularly Prof. Robert Harvey, of the University of Geneva, who kindly fulfilled the ungrateful task of revising the style of the memoir for the press.

And now I can only express the wish that the future excavations which I may have to undertake for the Egypt Exploration Fund, in the service of which Society I had the honour to work during five winters, may prove as successful as those made at Bubastis.

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

MALAGNY, near GENEVA,
September, 1890.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
TELL BASTA	1	THE CEMETERY OF CATS	52
THE OLD EMPIRE	4	DYNASTIES TWENTY-THREE TO TWENTY-NINE	55
THE TWELFTH DYNASTY	8	THE THIRTIETH DYNASTY	56
THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY . . .	15	THE PTOLEMIES AND THE ROMANS . .	59
THE HYKSOS	16	THE SMALL TEMPLE	60
THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY . . .	29	LIST OF KINGS	63
THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY . . .	35	CONTENTS OF PLATES	64
THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY . .	45	INDEX	67
THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY . .	46		

ERRATA.

Notwithstanding careful revisions a few errors have remained in the linear plates.

Pl. xxxvii. r, read instead of .

Pl. li. a, l. 3, the two signs should be turned the other way.

l. 5, under read instead of .

Phototypie F. Thévoz & C^ie, Genève

BUBASTIS.

TELL BASTA.

THE most ancient mention of Bubastis which we meet with, apart from the Egyptian texts, exists in the prophet Ezekiel, in the prophesy against Egypt.[1] "The young men of Aven and of Pi-Beseth[2] shall fall by the sword; and these cities shall go into captivity." The Septuagint,[3] translating the passage, give the Greek names of the two cities; Aven is Heliopolis, and Pi-Beseth, Bubastis; and they are followed by the Vulgate and the Coptic version.[4]

It is to Herodotus that we are indebted for the most complete description of Bubastis. The Greek writer speaks twice of the city;[5] first in reference to the great festival which was celebrated there annually, and afterwards when he gives a detailed description of the temple, to which we shall have to revert further. He also states that near Bubastis was the place where the canal to the Red Sea branched off from the Nile. From his account we learn that Bubastis was a large city of Lower Egypt, and his statement is borne out by the narrative of the capture of the town by the generals of Artaxerxes, Mentor, and Bagoas, which is found in Diodorus.[6] At Bubastis occurred for the first time what was to be the cause of the fall of several cities, and especially of the capital, internal warfare between the foreign mercenaries and the Egyptian troops, each party betraying the other to the Persian general.

[1] Ezek. xxx. 17. [2] פִּי־בֶסֶת

[3] νεανίσκοι Ἡλιουπόλεως καὶ Βουβάστου ἐν μαχαίρᾳ πεσοῦνται.

[4] ⲛⲓ ϩⲉⲗⲓⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲱⲛ ⲧϧⲁⲕⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϥⲣⲏ ⲛⲉⲓⲁ ϥⲟⲩⲃⲁⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲉ̀ϩⲉⲓ ϩⲛ̀ ⲧⲥⲏϥⲓ.

[5] ii. 60, 137. [6] xvi. 49.

Strabo speaks of the nome or province of Bubastis as being near the head of the Delta in the immediate vicinity of the nome of Heliopolis. Bubastis is one of the eight famous cities mentioned by Pomponius Mela among the twenty thousand said to have existed under Amasis, and of which many were still inhabited in his time. Roman coins of the time of Hadrianus bear the name of the nome of Bubastis. It occurs in Ptolemaeus and Stephanus Byzantinus. Hierocles quotes Bubastis among the cities of the second Augustamnica, and it was one of the bishoprics of Egypt. A Byzantine chronographer, John, Bishop of Nikiou,[7] quotes the city of Basta in connection with a rebellion which took place under the Emperor Phocas, and the Arab geographer Macrizy[8] speaks of it repeatedly. Among the provinces of Egypt was the district of Bastah, which contained thirty-nine hamlets. Bastah was given as allotment to the Arab tribes who had taken part in the conquest. Afterwards it belonged to the province of Kalioub.

We do not know when it was abandoned. Travellers did not direct their attention to the place, and the first to have noticed the ruins seems to be the Frenchman Malus, who took part in the Egyptian campaign at the end of last century. He gives the following description of the place:[9]—

"The ruins of Tell Bastah are seen from a great distance. They are seven leagues distant from the Nile, and half a league from the canal (the Muizz), on its right side. We saw there

[7] Chron. de Jean de Nikiou, ed. Zotenberg, p. 391.

[8] Quatremère, Mém. sur l'Egypte, p. 100.

[9] Mémoires sur l'Egypte, i. p. 215.

several remains of monuments which may be useful for the history of Egyptian architecture. We noticed in particular part of a cornice of a very vigorous style; the sculpture of it is fairly preserved. This block, which may be eight feet long and six high, is of a very hard red granite; the work is most elaborate, it is covered with hieroglyphs, of which we made a drawing.

"We saw on other masses of granite, among the hieroglyphs, characters which we had not noticed anywhere else. The face of an obelisk is completely covered with stars, and represents the sky. The stars have five rays of a length of two centimetres, and are joined to each other in an irregular order. Enormous masses of granite, nearly all mutilated, are heaped up in the most wonderful way. It is difficult to conceive what power could break and pile them up in that manner. Several have been cut for making millstones; some of them are completely hewn, but have been left on the spot, probably for want of means of transport. . . . This city, like all others, was raised on great masses of raw bricks. The extent of Bubastis in all directions is from twelve to fourteen hundred metres. In the interior is a great depression, in the middle of which are the monuments which we noticed."

This description is interesting because it shows that in the time of Malus the part of the temple which was visible was the western hall, the hall of Nekhthorheb, the most extensive, and where at present still exists the greatest heap of blocks. The monuments which struck him have been published in the great work of the French expedition;[1] they are the upper cornice, adorned with large asps, of which we discovered several fragments, and part of the ceiling, which he mistook for the side of an obelisk, and which is, in fact, adorned with stars. Although quarrying has been practised in the whole temple, it has been most active in the western part, judging from the immense number of chips of red limestone from Gebel Ahmar, the best material for millstones. Probably more towards the east the temple was covered, for Malus would certainly have mentioned the large columns which would have struck him more than the cornice, had he seen them.

A more complete description has been given by Sir Gardner Wilkinson. It appeared first in the transactions of an Egyptian society,[2] whence it passed into Murray's hand-book. Wilkinson seems to have been at Bubastis before 1840. Probably some digging had been done by the fellaheen, either for "sebakh" or for quarrying, for he saw a good deal more than Malus. He speaks of lotus-bud columns, of a palm-tree column which must have been twenty-two feet high, and which was lying near the canal, where it is still now to be seen; and he read on the stones the names of Rameses II., Osorkon I., and of a king whom he calls wrongly Amyrtaeos, and who is Nectanebo I., Nekhthorheb.

Since Wilkinson saw the place more stones have been carried away, and the Nile mud has covered parts of the temple which were visible in his time. I visited the place for the first time in 1882. In the great rectangular depression which marks the site of the temple, a few weather-beaten granite blocks were to be seen, but *no* column or statue, only two pits which were Mariette's attempts at excavations, very soon given up, as they were without results. The appearance of the place was exactly the same in 1887 when I settled there with Mr. Griffith, and we resolved to excavate the famous sanctuary of Bubastis, described by Herodotus as follows:—[3]

"Among the many cities which thus attained

[1] Descr. de l'Egypte, Antiquités, v. pl. 29, 9.

[2] Miscellanea Aegyptiaca, p. 2.

[3] ii. 137, ed. Rawlinson.

to a great elevation, none (I think) was raised so much as the town called Bubastis, where there is a temple of the goddess Bubastis, which well deserves to be described. Other temples may be grander, and may have cost more in the building, but there is none so pleasant to the eye as this of Bubastis. The Bubastis of the Egyptians is the same as the Artemis of the Greeks.

"The following is a description of this edifice: Excepting the entrance, the whole forms an island. Two artificial channels from the Nile, one on either side of the temple, encompass the building, leaving only a narrow passage by which it is approached. These channels are each a hundred feet wide, and are thickly shaded with trees. The gateway is sixty feet in height, and is ornamented with figures cut upon the stone, six cubits high, and well worthy of notice. The temple stands in the middle of the city, and is visible on all sides as one walks round it; for as the city has been raised by embankment, while the temple has been left untouched in its original condition, *you look down* upon it wheresoever you are. A low wall runs round the enclosure, having figures engraved upon it, and inside there is a grove of beautiful tall trees growing round the shrine, which contains the image of the goddess. The enclosure is a furlong in length, and the same in breadth. The entrance to it is by a road paved with stones for a distance of about three furlongs, which passes straight through the market-place in an easterly direction, and is about four hundred feet in width. Trees of an extraordinary height grow on each side of the road, which conducts from the temple of Bubastis to that of Mercury."

The description of Herodotus does not exactly correspond to what must have been the temple, the ruins of which we excavated, for since the Greek traveller saw it, the King Nekhthorheb of the XXXth dynasty added a hall, intended to be the largest, but which never was finished.

As I said before, the site of the temple is a rectangular depression, about nine hundred to a thousand feet long, in the middle of which stood the edifice, running nearly from east to west. At present it is still easy to recognize the correctness of the statement of Herodotus, when he says that the whole building was an island, for the beds of the canals which surrounded it are still traceable. The sides of the rectangle consist of lofty mounds, which are nothing but layers of decayed brick-houses, which were always rebuilt on the same spot, so that after centuries the ground was considerably raised. It is clear that from them one must have looked down on the stone buildings which had remained at the same level. Here again the statement of Herodotus is that of an eye-witness. When we had unearthed the whole area of the temple, the view extended over a space about five hundred feet long, covered with enormous blocks of granite. It was easy to recognize from the intervals between the various heaps of stones that there had been four different halls varying in their proportions. But the whole was so much ruined; besides, so many stones have been carried away, that it was impossible to make an approximate reconstruction or even a plan of what the temple must have been.

Beginning from the east, the entrance hall was about eighty feet long and one hundred and sixty wide (pl. liv.). The sculptures were chiefly of Rameses II. and Osorkon I., but there were found the two most ancient kings, Cheops and Chefren. The gateway was adorned with two large columns, with palm-leaf capitals, and outside of it stood the two great Hyksos statues. Following the axis of the building, and going towards the west, the next hall was eighty feet long by one hundred and thirty. It had no columns, but a considerable number of statues of different epochs, and was the richest

in inscriptions of various times. It underwent several changes, especially under Osorkon II., and will be designated by the name which the king gave it, "The Festival Hall." It contained a shrine, of which there are a few fragments left, and I should think it was around it that Herodotus saw the beautiful trees which he mentions.

Next came the colonnade, with two styles of columns and square pillars. It is not possible to know its width, but it was about one hundred and ninety feet long. The temple ended with the hall of Nekhthorheb, one hundred and sixty feet square. Probably there was around the temple an enclosure wall of black basalt, but traces of it are visible only near the two western halls. Nearly all the stones left are red granite, no white limestone has remained. In the hall of Nekhthorheb a great part of the building must have been made of red limestone from Gebel Ahmar, but as it is the best stone for mills and presses it has disappeared. The immense number of chips show that this part of the temple has been a regular quarry.

The destruction is as complete as at Sân, at Behbeit el Hagar, or generally speaking, in all the temples of the Delta. We have no clue whatever to inform us who was the author of it, or what was the purpose of such wanton ravage. I have dwelt elsewhere[1] on the idea that the style of construction of the temples made them very apt to be used as fortresses, and that this circumstance may have been the cause of their being destroyed in times of war. This explanation would apply particularly well to Bubastis, of which we know that it was besieged by the Persians, and that it was conquered in the wars of the time of Phocas. Besides, Bubastis, like the present city of Zagazig, which has taken its place, was the key of the Delta; it was on the road of all the invaders from Syria, whether they took the northern road through Pelusium, Daphnæ and Sân, or whether they journeyed more south through Pithom-Heroopolis. It was an important position to hold, and consequently very much exposed to all the accidents of war.

As the temples of Lower Egypt are mere heaps of blocks, whoever wishes to explore them thoroughly is obliged to roll down the stones and to turn them in order to see what may be hidden underneath. This part of the work, which was done by gangs of strong men, called the "shayaleen," took a considerable time, and was often most laborious; but it yielded very important results. In the two first halls every single block has been turned, so as to show whether it had any inscription. It has changed considerably the appearance of the place. Instead of forming lofty piles, the stones are strewn over a large space near each other. The place is less picturesque; the appearance of the ruins is far less imposing than when we first unearthed those huge masses clustered in colossal heaps, but science has gained considerably. Thus we discovered a great number of kings, whose passage and work at Bubastis would otherwise have remained ignored.

[1] Goshen, p. 4.

THE OLD EMPIRE.

We learn from Manetho that under the King Boethos, the first of the second dynasty, a chasm opened itself at Bubastis, which caused the loss of a great many lives. Up to the present day, we have not found in any part of Egypt monuments as old as the second dynasty. Historical monuments, properly speaking, begin only with the fourth; however, the passage of Manetho shows that in the tradition of his time the foundation of Bubastis went back to a high antiquity.

The fourth dynasty is represented in our excavations by the constructors of the two

great pyramids, *Cheops and Chefren*. Their names have been discovered in the first hall, not far from the entrance, on blocks which have evidently been re-used later on; the inscriptions have escaped because they were hidden in the wall. Of Cheops we have only what is called the standard [1] (pl. viii., xxxii. A.), exactly as we find it on an alabaster vase of the same King.[2] It is likely that under or near the standard was the cartouche, as in the tablet of Wadi Magharah.[3] This interesting inscription is engraved on an enormous block which the direction of the veins of the stone rendered very difficult to split. It is now in the British Museum.

The name of Chefren (pl. xxxii. B) is written like that of Neferkara of Wadi Magharah,[4] it is a standard containing both name and title, and which was surmounted by Horus. The names of both kings are of large dimensions, the hieroglyphs in Cheops' standard being eight inches high, and of Chefren eleven inches. The style of the engraving is beautiful, and considering the archaic appearance of the sculpture, and its similarity to several inscriptions of the Old Empire,[5] we have no reason to doubt that those names have been inscribed on the walls of the temple under the reigns of the kings. It is the first instance where a mention of those kings has been found on a contemporaneous edifice which is not a tomb, and situate north of Memphis. This implies a real sovereignty over that part of Lower Egypt, which must have been wielded already by the predecessor of Cheops, Snefru. We have not discovered Snefru's name at Bubastis, but he must have left some traces in the Delta, which he certainly occupied, for he was the first in making warlike expeditions to the Sinaitic Peninsula, and in order to reach it, he was obliged to follow the Wady Tumilât. His expeditions were continued by Cheops, who appears to have been a powerful king. Apart from the construction of the great pyramid, the tradition attributed to him the foundation of the temple of Denderah, for the plan according to which the edifice was reconstructed under Thothmes III., had been found "in ancient writings of the time of Cheops." [6]

Chefren has left no record of any expedition to Sinai. It is to him that we owe the first royal statues, and the beauty of the hieroglyphs with which his name is written at Bubastis is another proof of the high degree of development which Egyptian art had reached in his time. After the fourth dynasty, there seems to have been a period of weakness in the monarchy, which revives again with the first king of the sixth dynasty, Pepi I.

This king has also been discovered at Bubastis. He was already known in the Delta by the famous stone of Sân, found by Burton, and containing his name and titles.[7] This stone has for a long time attracted the attention of Egyptologists. Mr. Flinders Petrie, who republished it, and who discovered at Sân a second fragment till now unknown, has suggested that the stone might have been brought by Rameses II. from a building of Upper Egypt, and that it could not be inferred from its presence at Sân that Pepi had really made some construction so far north. But every doubt in this respect seems to be removed since Pepi's name has been found at Bubastis, in company with other kings of the Old Empire. Pepi has certainly built at Tanis as well as at Bubastis.

The cartouche of Pepi occurs twice at

[1] I employ here the usual name, without prejudging in the least Messrs. Maspero and Petrie's opinion that the so-called standard is the name of the *Ka*.

[2] Leps. Denkm. ii. pl. 2 d.

[3] Leps. l. l. pl. 2 b.

[4] Leps. l. l. pl. 116.

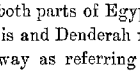
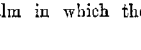
[5] Leps. l. l. pl. 26, pl. 39 d, e, pl. 116, etc.

[6] Mariette, Dendérah, p. 55, vol. iii. pl. 78 k.

[7] Rougé, Études sur les mon. des six premières dyn., p. 116; id. Inscr. Hier. pl. lxxv. Flinders Petrie, Tanis, i. pl. i. 2.

Bubastis. In one case it was at the end of a vertical column (pl. xxxii. c), in the other it is above the standard which surmounted the first cartouche (pl. xxxii. d). The name is unfortunately damaged in the upper part, but can be easily restored. It is not identical to that of Tanis. There Pepi calls himself simply the son of Hathor, the goddess of Denderah. Here he comes forward as the son of Tum, the god of Heliopolis, and of Hathor, the goddess of Denderah. It is a way of indicating that his sovereignty extends over both parts of Egypt. For the names of Heliopolis and Denderah must not be taken in a literal way as referring to those two cities; they are the emblems of the two divisions of the realm in which they were situated.

Pliny informs us that Pepi raised an obelisk at Heliopolis. Thus he was a worshipper of Tum. But he seems to have been a more fervent adorer of Hathor. The same crypt of the temple of Denderah in which occurs the name of Cheops, mentions also Pepi in the following text: "The great foundation in Denderah was found on decayed rolls of skins of kids of the time of the followers of Horus. It was found in a brick wall on the south side, in the reign of the king, beloved of the Sun, son of the Sun, Lord of diadems, *Pepi*, living established and well, like the Sun for ever."[8] Thus a temple, which in its present form is one of the most modern of Egypt, has succeeded to much more ancient buildings which the tradition attributed to Cheops and Pepi.

It would not be extraordinary if the construction of Denderah was connected in some way with the expeditions of those two kings to the Sinaitic Peninsula. Like Cheops, Pepi made war with the tribes of Sinai, and the records of his campaigns are engraved in the same place as those of Cheops, in the Wadi Magharah.[9] The chief attraction of the Egyptians towards that region were the mines of a mineral, on the true nature of which there has been much discussion, but which, according to the latest researches of Lepsius,[1] seems to have been emerald or malachite. It was called *mafek* or *mafkat*  , and from it the whole region where it was found, and of which Hathor was the goddess, derived its name of *Mafkat*,  . It is quite possible that as a token of gratitude for successful campaigns in Sinai, Cheops and Pepi founded or enlarged the sanctuary of the goddess at Denderah. A proof of it lies in the fact that among the sacred objects which Thothmes III. executed according to the prescriptions of the documents, appears an emblem of the goddess under the form of a sistrum of mafkat, four palms high.[3]

I do not believe, however, that the mines of *mafek* were the only inducement which attracted the Pharaohs towards the Sinaitic Peninsula. Undoubtedly, mafek was a precious stone which was valuable either as an ornament, or for sacred uses, or as a means of exchange at a time when there was no coin, but the kings must have had other purposes in view. They had to defend themselves against the invasions of the nomads of the east, such as are described in the campaign of the general Una against the Amu and the Heruscha; besides, it seems to me likely that one of the objects of their conquests was the possession of quarries which have not been found again, but which must exist somewhere in the peninsula.

This brings me to a question which has not yet received a satisfactory answer. Where did the Egyptians get all the stones of which they made such a considerable use? The quarries of some

[8] Cf. Bunsen, Egypt, v. p. 723. Mariette, Dendérah, p. 55, vol. iii. pl. 78.

[9] Leps. Denkm. ii. pl. 116.

[1] Leps. Metalle, p. 79, ff.

[2] Leps. Denkm. ii. 137.

[3] Mariette, Dendérah, i. pl. 55.

of the stones are known. The red granite came from Syene, from the very banks of the Nile, and could be transported by water on the river or on the canals with a relative facility. But where did the black granite come from, the material out of which so many statues have been carved? The opinion which is still now prevalent is that of Lepsius,[4] who believes that it was dug out of the rocks of Hamamât, between Keneh and Kosseir, in the desert. In fact, the quarries which have been found there were already worked under the sixth dynasty, and by Pepi himself. This opinion seems very plausible in the case of kings who ruled over the whole of Egypt, but is very different with those who reigned only over the Delta. Wherefrom did the Hyksos draw the stones of their statues? Undoubtedly not from Hamamât.

This question has grown in interest lately by the remark that the old Chaldæan monuments discovered at Telloh by M. de Sarzec were made of a stone quite similar to several statues of Egypt.[5] M. Oppert read in the inscriptions the name of *Maggan*, which applies to the Sinaitic peninsula, and which, according to the illustrious Assyriologist, would be the place where the stone of those statues was obtained.[6] Others, on the contrary, maintain that the material was close at hand, and that it came from the shores of the Persian Gulf. Thorough explorations made by geologists are required to solve the question whether or not there are quarries in the Sinaitic peninsula.

It is impossible to form even an approximate idea of what a temple of the Old Empire was like. That there were temples at that remote epoch is beyond any doubt, but until now we have only discovered one, the temple of the Sphinx. And it is easily comprehensible. No buildings have been so much altered, reconstructed, transformed as temples. The sacred character attached to a place lasts through ages; generally, it even outlives a complete change of religion; but it is not so with the sanctuary. In the long succession of dynasties, in proportion as art and taste changed, as religious ideas were modified, as the empire was growing in power and riches, the primitive building underwent such complete alterations, that nothing remained of its original state except names as at Tanis and Bubastis, or mere traditions as at Denderah. It is likely also that one of the reasons why we find so few traces of the temples of Pepi and Cheops, is that they were without any ornamentation or sculpture. They were built of blocks of polished stone, with monolithic pillars as in the temple of the Sphinx, but it is very doubtful whether the walls bore anything else than the name of the king. The cartouches of Pepi were along the door-posts; we do not know where those of Cheops and Chefren were engraved. Among the numerous blocks which are heaped up at Bubastis, there may be some which go up to such a high antiquity, but which, having no sculptures or ornaments of any kind, are not discernible, especially as they were re-used in the numerous alterations which the building went through.

There is, however, a sculpture which undoubtedly goes back to the Old Empire, and which struck us from the first by its unusual character (pl. xxii. D). On the top of the blocks of the first hall there was a false door, such as occurs nearly in all the tombs of the Old Empire, and which consists of two posts bound together by a cylindrical drum, where the name of the deceased is frequently engraved. I cannot account for a monument of this kind, which has nearly always a funereal character, being in a temple which never seems to have been used as a tomb. Nothing remains of the inscriptions which might have solved the difficulty. Everywhere they have been carefully erased, as well on a rectangular tablet above the door, as on the posts, each of which had a royal name; for on the left, in spite

[4] Leps. Briefe, p. 319.
[5] Rev. Arch. 42, pp. 264-272.
[6] Taylor, in Perrot, Hist. de l'Art, Assyrie, p. 588.

of the erasure, it is easy to discern the upper curve of a cartouche, and a disk, probably Ra.

Thus the inscriptions of Cheops, Chefren, Pepi, and the false door are all we can with certainty attribute to the Old Empire, and to the original building which was at Bubastis in those remote ages. It is natural to believe that it occupied part of the area of the two first halls where we found its remains. As for its form we can speak of it only hypothetically; nothing can guide us except the analogy with the tombs; for as the tomb was the eternal abode of the deceased, so the temple was considered as the abode of the divinity; we may therefore suppose that originally they were built on a similar principle. I should think that the old temple was a single stone chamber without ornamental sculpture, containing somewhere, probably opposite the entrance, the false door on which stood the name of the king and the dedication. Perhaps the single chamber was preceded by a vestibule with square pillars, such as in the temple of the Sphinx or in the tombs. All we know of the Old Empire shows us that the architecture of the temples was marked by a great simplicity; the desire for ornamentation and embellishment came only with the Middle Empire. It is probable that this first temple lasted through the reign of the dynasties, the history of which is unknown to us, and that the first great changes it went through took place under the twelfth dynasty.

THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.

With the twelfth dynasty we enter on a period when the temple of Bubastis went through great alterations. They are easily traceable by a careful study of the sculptured blocks, which shows that the temple is nothing but a palimsest, and that nearly all the larger inscriptions engraved either by Rameses II. or by Osorkon II. are usurpations occupying the place of older dedications which have not always been carefully expunged.

No work of great importance seems to have been made in the temple before the last king, Usertesen III. The first of the powerful kings of the twelfth dynasty we meet with, is Amenemha I. (pl. xxxiii. A). His name, or rather his standard, occurs on a block which has been displaced, for it is in the hall of Nekhthorheb, who must have taken it in one of the neighbouring halls. The inscription, which is fragmentary, has two lines; in the second the king says that "*he erected his statue to his mother Bast: he made a door* or *a room in* . . . ." In other words, he dedicated his statues to the goddess, so there must have been statues of Amenemha I. in the temple; they possibly are still extant now, but with another name.

His son and successor, Usertesen I., has left his name in a small inscription accompanying a procession of Nile-gods carrying offerings (pl. xxxiv. D, E). It is under the twelfth dynasty that we meet for the first time with the androgyne figure of the river, which is found afterwards at nearly all epochs. It was of common use under the kings whose work we are now describing, especially on their statues. In order to indicate that they ruled over both parts of Egypt they did not, like Chefren, engrave on the side of their thrones merely the sign *sam*, the sign of union binding together the plants of the North and the South; they had the two Nile gods engraved with one foot on the base of the sign and holding each of them in their hand the plant which is the special emblem of the North or of the South. Representations of this kind are found on the statues of Amenemha I.,[1] Usertesen I.,[2] Amenemha II.,[3] Usertesen

[1] F. Petrie, Tanis i. pl. i. 3 b.
[2] id. pl. i. 4 b.
[3] id. pl. xiii. 4.

III.[4] On the statue of Mermashu[5] the Nile gods are kneeling. We have a good example on the statue of black granite (pl. xxv. c), the head of which is at Sydney, and which has all the characteristics of a statue of the twelfth dynasty. It occurs also on the two Hyksos statues, where the representation has been usurped twice (pl. xxiv. d). It seems that the Amenemhas and the Usertesens were fervent worshippers of the god Nile, for images of the god are met with on other monuments than statues, especially on the temples of Semneh and Kummeh, which, having been built by Usertesen III., were completed and repaired by Thothmes III.[6] The picture of the Nile gods with one foot on the is not so common on the monuments of the first dynasties of the New Empire, at least of those the date of which is certain, but it occurs frequently under the first Ethiopians, especially Tahraka.[7] It is impossible not to recognize in the sculptures and in the royal standards of the Ethiopians a striking likeness with the twelfth dynasty, probably because they had before their eyes constructions raised by those kings, and above all by the conqueror of Nubia, Usertesen III.

The inscription of Usertesen I. indicates that the king did not wish to do more than engrave his name on the wall of the temple. We may conclude from this fact that in his time the venerable building of Cheops and Chefren was still extant in its primitive simplicity and with its small proportions. But Usertesen III., the greatest king of the dynasty, evidently desired to adorn Bubastis with a temple which might compete with his constructions in other parts of Egypt. Among the heaps of blocks which are all that remains of the temple, there are a great many fragments, varying in length, of architraves bearing hieroglyphical inscriptions with signs more than two feet high, and having all of them the name of Rameses II. Looking at them carefully, we notice that the signs are engraved in a concavity, that the polish which is well preserved on the edges of the stone has been destroyed near the inscription, that here and there an old sign comes out quite distinctly below the new ones: there is no doubt that Rameses II. erased an older name and an older dedication in order to inscribe his own. In other places there are stones with deeply cut hieroglyphs bearing all the characteristics of the twelfth dynasty, and where the place of the cartouche is rough and uneven, and keeps traces of having been worked over again several times (pl. xxiv. a). The usurpations of Rameses II. appear on every stone with hardly an exception: the question is whose name he expunged in order to replace it by his cartouche and titles. This interesting problem received an unexpected and satisfactory solution. On one of the architraves which in the reconstructed temple must have been in the angle so that the end of the stone was hidden, the hammering out could not be done on the whole length, and close to the cartouche of Rameses II. appears the beginning of the first cartouche of Usertesen III. (pl. xxvi. c, xxxiii. e). The same cartouche appears on a block where it is complete, and followed by the name of the god Sokaris (pl. xxxiii. f), also in a procession of nome-gods carrying offerings (pl. xxxiv. c); besides, it stood on two door-posts, where it has been partially erased (pl. xxxiii. b, d, c.) The circumstance that the name of Usertesen is found on architraves of such large dimensions, proves that this king must have enlarged the building considerably.

Usertesen III., as well as the other sovereigns of the twelfth dynasty, made war against the Ethiopians and the negroes of Nubia. Two well-known inscriptions relate the expeditions which he made in their country, and the regu-

[4] F. Petrie, Tanis ii. Nebesheh, pl. ix.
[5] Tanis i. pl. iii. 17 b.
[6] Leps. Denkm. iii. 47, 67.
[7] Leps. l. l. v. 13.

lations which he enforced for the Nubian boats going down the river. His two great campaigns took place in the years eight and sixteen of his reign. I should think that it is one of these campaigns which is alluded to in an inscription very incomplete, but the style and sculpture of which leave no doubt as to its being a work of the twelfth dynasty (pl. xxxiv. A). It is a block of red granite three feet square, of which this fragment only has been preserved, the others have been destroyed in the reconstruction of the temple, or they have disappeared more recently, when the temple was used as a quarry. There is no royal name in the text, but both the form and the context induce me to attribute it to Usertesen III.

In the thirteen lines of which it consists occur several geographical names. The most frequent is *the height* or *the mountain of Hua,* . Hua is one of the localities quoted among the southern countries conquered by Rameses III., together with Punt.[8] Another region is *Khaset* or *Khaskhet of the West* . Khaskhet is frequently met with in the inscriptions of the twelfth dynasty.[9] Brugsch[1] translates it *country, foreign country.* It is difficult to determine the site referred to from such a fragmentary inscription, however, it is natural to consider it as a southern locality according to the list of Thothmes III. engraved on the walls of Karnak.

The king seems to be speaking. l. 4 . . . of beaten negroes, in order that may be known what you are doing . . . .

l. 5. . . . the king struck them himself with his mass . . . .

l. 8 mentions veteran soldiers of former times ; . . . they are brought to the palace. His Majesty provided . . . .

l. 9. . . . His Majesty ordered to pass 123 soldiers going out towards the fountain which is . . . .

l. 10. . . . sailing up in order to see the height of Hua, and in order to know the way of navigating . . . .

l. 11. . . . taken alive, they found there 203 cows and 11 she asses ; in the month of . . . .

l. 12. . . . (rejoicings) very great in leaving the height of Hua ; the departure from this height was in peace . . . . This is an allusion to the happy issue of the campaign.

l. 13. . . . nehek. South of the mount of Hua . . . .

It is only a fragment left from the middle of a text entirely destroyed, the loss of which, judging from what remains, is much to be regretted.

The great architraves hammered out, the numerous usurped stones the style of which clearly belongs to the twelfth dynasty, are evidences showing that the constructions raised by these kings at Bubastis were considerable. Undoubtedly they transformed the old building raised by Cheops and Chefren, traces of which were found in the two first halls. But they were not satisfied with it ; and I believe that we must attribute to Usertesen III. the foundation of what was the finest part of the temple, the hypostyle hall.

West of the second hall, on a length of sixty yards and a breadth of twenty-five, are scattered the ruins of this beautiful construction, shafts and capitals of columns, colossal architraves, Hathor heads (pl. v., vi., vii.) It is by far the part of the temple which has suffered most. It may be that it remained exposed when the other parts were already buried under Nile mud ; besides, the shafts of columns have always been much sought after, as they are easy to saw for making mill-stones. What has escaped is only a small part of the materials which composed the edifice ; the number of stones destroyed or carried away must have been considerable, and

[8] Leps. Denkm. iii. 209.
[9] Petrie, Tanis ii. Nebesheh, pl. ix.
[1] Diet. Geog. p. 629.

thus a reconstruction of the hall is hardly possible except by conjecture. Judging from the remains discovered in the excavations, the structure contained the following elements.

In the middle of the hall were four huge monolithic columns in red granite with capitals in the form of a lotus-bud (pl. vii.). This type, which figures a bundle of lotus-plants, appears for the first time in a tomb at Beni Hassan, in a more simple form; there are only four plants. The more complex form, identical to that of Bubastis, may be seen in the Labyrinth of Howara,[2] which is the work of the twelfth dynasty. It is described thus by MM. Perrot and Chipiez in their "History of Art in Ancient Egypt."[3]

"Their shafts are composed of eight vertical ribs which are triangular or plain, like stalks of papyrus. The lower part of the shaft has a bold swell. It springs from a corona of leaves and tapers as it rises. The stalks are tied at the top with from three to five bands, the ends hanging down between the ribs. The buds which form the capital are also surrounded with leaves at their base."

Of the four columns which stood in the centre of the hall, the bases have been preserved, on which the monolithic shafts were fixed so strongly that when one of the columns was thrown down, its fall raised the base on its side. None of the columns are intact; they are all four broken in several pieces. One capital only is complete; it has been carried away with the piece fitting immediately underneath, and stands now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Apart from the beauty and the vigour of the workmanship, it is remarkable by its fine polish, which has remained undamaged through many centuries, and which is a characteristic feature of the work of the twelfth dynasty.[4]

Close to these four columns stood four others, not quite so high, also of red granite and monolithic, but with more slender shafts ending in a capital of palm-leaves. The top of the leaves, with the surmounting abacus, forms a separate piece which could not be part of the monolith, as it has a much larger diameter than the rest of the column. Otherwise it would have been necessary for making the column to have a much thicker stone, and to thin it considerably on its whole length. A curious fact is that the leaves which form the capital are not of the same width. While the large *columns* have hardly any writing, except on the lower part, these have inscriptions from the top to the bottom. The oldest belong to Rameses II., but they have been usurped more or less completely by Osorkon II. On the specimen which has been brought to the British Museum all the degrees of usurpation may be followed. Although it bears the name of Rameses II., the older date of the column is proved by the fact that the inscription of the king is cut across an ornament of the capital, a circumstance which would not occur if the column had been raised by his order and in his time.

As there were four columns of two different species, the proportions and type of which were not the same, there occur also two groups of four Hathor capitals, the dimensions of which differ in the same ratio as the columns. The two groups have one point of similarity. The goddess is represented only on two opposite sides of the capital, and not on all four, as may be seen in later epochs. The great Hathors are a little above seven feet high. One of them had one side quite perfect because it rested on the ground; it is now in the Boston Museum. The other three, more or less damaged, are at the Louvre, in the British Museum, and at Berlin. The head (pl. ix., xxiii. A, xxiv. B) has the usual type of the goddess: a broad face, with ears of a heifer, the thick hair,

[2] Leps. Denkm. i. 47.

[3] English ed. vol. ii. p. 99.

[4] Plate liii. gives the exact drawing and the dimensions of that beautiful monument.

instead of falling vertically, curls up outwards. Here and there, in the eyeballs and on the lips, traces of colour were still visible, and were even quite vivid, but faded away after a few hours of exposure in the air. Above the head, the little shrine which is commonly seen in that kind of capital, and which is particularly noticeable in the temple of Denderah, is reduced to a cornice adorned with asps bearing a solar disk. On the other sides are the emblems either of Northern or Southern Egypt, viz., the plant which belongs to each of these regions. It stands between two asps, wearing the corresponding head-dress and placed in such a way that their heads are tucked along the hair of the goddess. There were two capitals with Northern emblems, and two with Southern emblems. The one in Boston is one of the North capitals. Below this representation was a blank space on which Osorkon II. engraved his cartouche. On the surface which rested on the pillar, Osorkon I. had a dedication engraved.

The other group of four Hathor capitals is smaller and more simple (pl. xxiii. B). The cornice which is above the hair has no asps; the sides had no representations of North and South; they were a blank, and Osorkon II. engraved on them his cartouche. The best specimen has been sent to the Museum of Sydney. When we raised it, the lips were still covered with a vivid red paint.

These two varieties of Hathor capitals are at present unique in their kind, especially the larger ones. The only capital which may be said to have some similarity, is found in Upper Nubia at Sedeinga.[5] It crowns a column the single remnant of an extensive colonnade. As at Bubastis the head of the goddess is only on two sides, and there seems to be an attempt to figure the plant of the North on the other faces. The workmanship of the capitals of Bubastis is admirable; but in order that it may be rightly appreciated the capitals must be seen some way off. Looking at them close by, they seem flat, and destitute of expression; whereas at a distance, the features come out with a striking liveliness. In fact, they were meant to be placed at a height equal to that of the neighbouring columns. We are in a complete uncertainty as to the exact distribution of the hall and to the manner in which the capitals were disposed. But I cannot help thinking that the Hathors were on the top of square pillars, standing alternately with the columns, so that the arrangement was quite analogous to the small temple in Deir el Medineh.[6]

As to the inequality in height of the two groups of columns, we often see in Egyptian temples contiguous colonnades differing in height, and following each other either in the length of the edifice as at Luxor, or in its width as at Karnak, in the great hall. Judging from the bases of the large columns, I believe that close to each of them, on the outside, stood a square pillar bearing a Hathor capital, on the top of which lay the architrave. Right and left of the eight huge fulcrums probably stood two columns with palm-leaf capitals, and two smaller Hathors, so that the central construction being the highest, had two lower wings, as may be seen at Karnak.[7] Or the lower construction was put as a prolongation to the higher, to which it might serve as a western entrance, and the whole had an appearance similar to that of the Ramesseum or that of the temple of Luxor.[8] I must add that north of the temple, and quite outside, at a distance of about fifty yards, we met with the two same styles of columns, lotus-bud and palm-leaf, but on a much smaller scale. They seem to have belonged to

[5] Leps. Briefe, p. 257. Denkm. i. 114, 115.

[6] Leps. Denkm. i. 88.

[7] Maspero, L'archéol. égypt. vign. 70.

[8] Maspero, l. l. vign. 77. Perrot et Chipiez, Egypte, vign. 213.

a doorway giving access to a road which led to the western entrance of the temple.[9]

The reader will ask for the grounds which induce me to attribute these columns and Hathor capitals to the twelfth dynasty. I admit that there is not absolute certainty, and that this attribution may be questioned, particularly as regards the Hathors and the palm-leaf columns. But if these be not the work of the twelfth dynasty, they are that of the eighteenth. It is certain that the two styles of columns above described were the favourite types of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty. Thothmes III. used the lotus-bud at Karnak; a large column of the same style lying on the ground at the entrance of the temple of Phthah in Memphis belongs also to him. Amenophis III. seems to have had a special liking for it, as we may see at Thebes, at Elephantine, and especially in the temple of Soleb in Nubia. For him were made the palm-leaf columns which were considered as the oldest, at least, if we can trust the inscriptions engraved upon them. They are also in Soleb, where both styles are found together as at Bubastis. Besides, it cannot be denied that the Hathor capital with two faces of the goddess is met with in temples of the eighteenth dynasty, at Deir el Bahari, where it dates probably from Hashepsu or Thothmes III., at El Kab and Sedeinga, where it dates from Amenophis III. In the last two instances there is another similarity with the Hathors of Bubastis, the two sides which have not the face of the goddess bear the emblematic plants of North and South. Under such circumstances it may well be asked whether the colonnade of Bubastis is not the work of the eighteenth dynasty, and of Amenophis III., whose name is preserved on several statues discovered in the excavations.

In answering this question, a difference must be made between the great lotus-bud columns and the others. In reference to the first, the column of the Labyrinth, absolutely similar to that of Bubastis, seems to me convincing evidence. The Labyrinth belongs to the twelfth dynasty. Both columns must be contemporaneous; in both of them there is the same simplicity and elegance of workmanship; besides, the column of Bubastis has preserved the beautiful polish which appears also on the architraves of Usertesen III., wherever they have not been erased by Rameses II. The architraves belonging to Usertesen III. must have had something to rest upon; I believe therefore that there can be no doubt as to the age of the larger columns. If these only are the work of the twelfth dynasty, they must have formed the entrance to the two halls which existed before. But I see also a great difficulty in attributing the palm-leaf capitals and the Hathors to the eighteenth dynasty, as one might be tempted to do at first sight. There is absolutely no inscription of those kings mentioning constructions of that kind, there are no traces of the great architraves which should have been on these pillars, and on which undoubtedly Amenophis III. would have recorded his high and pious deeds. His inscriptions would less likely have been usurped by Rameses II. than those of the twelfth or thirteenth dynasty, which, nevertheless, have been preserved. All the monuments bearing the name of Amenophis III. at Bubastis are statues of priests and priestesses, the inscriptions of which do not speak of constructions, and which are no integrant part of the building. These are the reasons why I attribute to the twelfth dynasty the Hathor heads and the palm-leaf columns which, as we saw before, are older than Rameses II.

The more excavations are made in Egypt, the better we shall know the twelfth dynasty—one of the most powerful which occupied the throne. Usurpation has been practised in the New Empire on a much larger scale than was supposed. Every temple is like a roll of vellum

[9] One of the lotus-bud columns is now in the Louvre.

on which several successive texts have been written, one over the other. In the Delta, where the distance from the quarries was considerable, the temptation must have been very great. As the temples of the twelfth dynasty had inscriptions only on the architraves and the doorposts, but not on the walls or the columns, it was easy for Amenophis or Rameses to use these flat and well polished surfaces for celebrating his own glory, and thus attributing to himself the work of former generations.

The statues have not fared better. They have not been spared more than the temples. It is evident that we shall have to change the names of a great many statues exhibited in our museums where they have been labelled from the last name inscribed upon them. The history of Egyptian sculpture has been thrown into a great confusion. It is at present a field which has hardly been cleared. If most of the royal statues, or at least their casts, could once be put together, and a careful study be made of them, it would be astonishing to see how many statues engraved with the cartouche of Rameses II. were never made for him, and are older works of which he took possession. In so doing, he followed the example which Thothmes III. and Amenophis III. had given him, as we may ascertain in collections like that of Turin. If now it be asked who was chiefly set aside by such usurpations, I have no doubt that this comparative study will show that it was chiefly the thirteenth dynasty, especially in all cases when Rameses did not leave any name except his own.

I have no hesitation in putting among the monuments of the twelfth dynasty the statue the head of which is in the museum of Sydney, while the base has been left on the spot, being too much damaged to be carried away (pl. xxv. c). The head, which has the flat type of the Middle Empire, wears the white diadem of Upper Egypt, like Amenemha I. and Usertesen I. at Tanis.

There was thereon a smaller figure, probably a woman, standing on the throne, and holding the headdress of the king with her hands. The two inscriptions, which are generally engraved on the edges of the throne, along the legs, are destroyed. If they were the name of a king of the twelfth dynasty, Rameses II. may have preserved them. It is possible also that we must assign the same date to two standing colossi, the fragments of which are scattered here and there. They both wear the southern headdress, and one of them had the eyes hollowed out like the Hyksos statues.

No monuments of this epoch give us the name of the locality. However, the goddess Bast is mentioned in the inscription of Amenemha (pl. xxxiii. A). With the name of Usertesen is quoted the god Sokaris, a divinity of Memphis, and one of the forms of Phthah (pl. xxxiii. F). It is to be noticed that at Tanis,[1] where the statues of the kings of the twelfth dynasty are numerous, the gods whose worshippers they call themselves, are the gods of Memphis, and they frequently mention the sanctuary of that city, *ankh toui*. The small number of inscriptions preserved at Bubastis does not allow us to ascertain to what god the sanctuary was dedicated; whether it was to the local divinity, Bast, or to the great gods of Egypt as in the time of Rameses II. I should think it was to the last, and that the worship of Bast became prevalent only much later. One of the sculptures of Usertesen III. represented a procession of nome gods (pl. xxxiv. c). Only one emblem remains, and the sign is not very distinct, it looks like a different reading of the nome of Heliopolis, to which Bubastis then belonged, as under Seti I., and even much later, it was not yet a separate nome. The Ptolemaic name of the province does not occur anywhere in all the inscriptions discovered.

[1] Petrie, Tanis i. pl. 1, 3 a, 3 c, 3 d, iii. 16 a, 16 b, 17 b.

THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY.

With the thirteenth dynasty we enter one of the most obscure periods of Egyptian history. The monuments become more and more scarce, and the obscurity lasts as far as the beginning of the New Empire. We do not know the transition from the thirteenth to the fourteenth dynasty, nor can we fix exactly the epoch when the invasion of the Hyksos took place. Nevertheless, it remains a well established fact that in the thirteenth dynasty, the Sebekhoteps and Neferhoteps ruled over the whole of Egypt, not only of Egypt proper, north of the first cataract, but much farther south, as far as Upper Nubia.

Professor Wiedemann has given a list of one hundred and thirty-six kings quoted by the Turin papyrus between the twelfth dynasty and the Hyksos. It agrees nearly with the number given by Manetho for the thirteenth and the fourteenth put together. The Sebennyte priest assigns Thebes as the native place for the thirteenth dynasty, and Xoïs for the fourteenth, while the anonymous writer called Barbarus Scaligeri calls them Bubastites and Tanites. It is not impossible that both may be right in so far as both dynasties came out of the Delta, and that we have to interpret the name of Diospolites, given by Manetho to the thirteenth dynasty, as signifying natives not from Thebes, but from one of the cities of the Delta dedicated to Amon, whether it be the city called later Diospolis Parva or another.

In the list of the papyrus of Turin we find as the sixteenth the cartouche given on pl. xxxiii. 1, 6. In other texts it accompanies the prenomen of Sebekhotep. It occurs twice at Bubastis, in one case it is complete, in the other, two-thirds of it have been erased. I found also other fragments of the architrave, which gave part of the titles of the king . The inscription must have been hidden in the wall in the reconstruction of the temple, but the size of the characters and of the architrave on which they are engraved, indicates that it must have rested on pillars of large dimensions, another proof that the great columns already existed at that remote epoch. This cartouche has generally been considered as belonging to Sebekhotep I., a king known to us through the inscriptions which he left on the rocks of Semneh in Nubia, and which record the height of the Nile in the three first years of his reign. Until now his name had never been discovered on a temple, nor even on a monument of large size. Judging from what was found at Bubastis, he must have been a builder.

It seems that the kings of the thirteenth dynasty, far from being Hyksos as Lepsius believed, at first endeavoured to follow the traditions of their glorious predecessors of the twelfth. They gave a great value to the possession of Nubia, and probably they made military expeditions into that country, since monuments of one of them have been found not far from Mount Barkal, in the island of Argo.[2] They belong to Sebekhotep III., who seems to have been the most powerful, and of whom there are several statues. One of them is at the Louvre; it is nearly certain that it comes from Tanis, where its duplicate still exists,[3] and one was discovered by Lepsius in the island of Argo. Looking at those monuments, one is struck at first sight by their great resemblance with the works of the twelfth dynasty. This likeness appears in the whole attitude, in the manner in which the hands are stretched quite flat on the legs, and chiefly in the style in which the lower part of the body, and especially the knees, have been worked. The sculptor has applied all his skill to the head, which was to be a portrait; but the legs are coarse, made with a kind of clumsiness, as it were, by a second-rate artist; the knee-pan is rudely indicated, the ankle is

[2] Leps. Denkm. ii. 120-151. Rougé, Notice des monuments, pp. 15 et 16.

[3] Rougé, Inscr. pl. 76. Petrie, Tanis i. pl. iii. p. 8.

thick and roughly marked. These characteristics remind us not only of works of the twelfth dynasty, but also of statues several of which have been preserved, bearing the name of Rameses II. I shall mention only two. One is at Boston, and was discovered by Mr. Petrie at Nebesheh; the other comes from Bubastis, and is now in the museum of Geneva (pl. xiv.).[4] It is evident that this last one is not Rameses II.; the type of the face is quite different from the Ramessides, and in addition to other erasures, the sides of the throne have been diminished in order to engrave the name of the king. The head-dress is the same as on the Sebekhotep of the Louvre. The statue is in a remarkable state of preservation, there is only a slight piece of the nose which is wanting. It was broken in two at the waist. The base appeared already in my first excavations in 1887; but it was sunk deep in water, and I left it until I should have discovered the upper part. The inundation of the following summer carried off the earth which covered the head; it had fallen forward close to the base, with the face in the soil. When it was raised and turned, the colours were seen quite fresh. The stripes of the diadem were painted alternately blue and yellow, and there were traces of red on the face. The colours soon vanished after they had been exposed to the air two or three days; but we had here a good example of the use which the Egyptians made of polychromy. They painted their statues even when they were made of black granite.

Thus I should attribute the Rameses of Geneva to a king of the thirteenth dynasty. The statue has a curious peculiarity. Seen from the side, in profile, the head seems disproportionate, and much too large for the torso, while the chest is somewhat hollow. This singularity may be seen also in a statue which has the greatest likeness to the Rameses of Geneva; it is at the British Museum, where it has been labelled Amenophis III., though it bears no hieroglyphical name.

If the kings of the thirteenth dynasty have been so powerful, and if they have carried their conquests so far as Upper Nubia, it is astonishing that they left so few monuments, and that their cartouches occur much more seldom than those of the twelfth. The reason of it seems to me that the thirteenth dynasty has been the object of a peculiar malevolence from the kings of the nineteenth. For a cause which we do not know, neither Seti I. nor his son Rameses considered the Sebekhoteps as legitimate kings, and they did not admit them in the royal lists which were engraved at Abydos and Sakkarah, no more than the Hyksos. The eighteenth dynasty, and especially Thothmes III., did not share the same feeling, as he mentions them in his list of Karnak. The hatred of Rameses and his family against the thirteenth dynasty may explain why its monuments are so scarce. From the destruction practised by the Ramessides, we possess only what has been saved either because the island of Argo was very far off, or because the inscription was hidden in a wall as in Bubastis, or because the old name had been thoroughly expunged. We must attribute to a fortunate neglect the good preservation of the statues of the Louvre and of Tanis. The result is that the thirteenth dynasty, which has played an important part in the history of Egypt, is among the least known. But we can hope to derive more information about it from careful researches among the materials with which the later temples were built, especially those of the nineteenth dynasty.

[4] Another monument of the same kind is the Rameses of the Louvre, vid. Rougé, Notice des monuments, p. 19 and 20.

THE HYKSOS.

JOSEPHUS, quoting Manetho, gives the following version of the invasion of the Shepherds and of

their conquest of Egypt:—"The so-called *Timaos* became king. Egypt during his reign lay, I know not why, under the divine displeasure, and on a sudden, men from the east country, of an ignoble race, audaciously invaded the land. They easily got possession of it, and established themselves without a struggle, making the rulers thereof tributary to them, burning their cities, and demolishing the temples of their gods. All the natives they treated in the most brutal manner; some they put to death, others they reduced to slavery with their wives and children.

"Subsequently, also, they chose a king out of their own body, *Salatis* by name. He established himself at Memphis, took tribute from the Upper and Lower country, and placed garrisons in the most suitable places. He fortified more especially the eastern frontier, foreseeing, as he did, that the Assyrians, whose power was then at its height, would make an attempt to force their way into the Empire from that quarter. He found in the Sethroite nome a city particularly well adapted for that purpose, lying to the east of the Bubastite arm of the Nile, called *Avaris*, after an old mythological fable. This he repaired and fortified with strong walls, and placed in it a garrison of 240,000 heavy-armed soldiers. In summer he visited it in person, for the purpose of recruiting them with a fresh supply of provisions, paying their salaries, and practising military exercises, by which to strike terror into the foreigners.

"He died after a reign of nineteen years, and was succeeded by another king, *Beon* by name, who reigned forty-four years. After him *Apachnas* reigned thirty-six years and seven months; then *Apōphis*, sixty-one years; then *Ianias*, fifty years and one month; and lastly *Assis*, forty-nine years and two months.

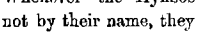
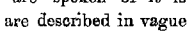
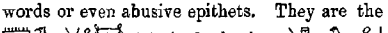
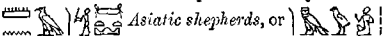
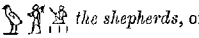
"These six were their first rulers. They were continually at war, with a view of utterly exhausting the strength of Egypt. The general name of their people was *Hyksōs*, which means 'Shepherd Kings;' for *Hyk* signifies, in the sacred language, a king, and *Sôs*, in the demotic, is *Shepherd* and *Shepherds*. Some say they were Arabs."

This is all that Manetho states, but Josephus adds:—"It is mentioned in another work that the word *Hyk* does not signify kings, but shepherd prisoners. *Hyk* or *Hak*, signifies in Egyptian, *prisoners*, and this seems to me more likely, and more in conformity with ancient history."[5]

It is useless to repeat here all the opinions which have been expressed on this important and much controverted passage. Few texts have been the object of so much discussion. I shall only state what seems to be most plausible in the conflict of diverging views to which this part of the history of Egypt has given rise.

We do not know when the inroad took place; it is certain, however, that under the thirteenth dynasty, Egypt was still her own master; if the strangers had already entered the land, it was not as invaders nor as conquerors. In the obscure period of the fourteenth dynasty, when, according to the papyrus of Turin and Manetho, the kings succeeded each other at short intervals, after reigns which had not even the duration of one year, these "men from the east country, of an ignoble race, audaciously invaded the land." The contemptuous qualification applied by Manetho to the strangers, shows that they were not a distinct nation, whose name and original settlement were well known. They were more or less barbarous hordes driven from their native country, and over-running Egypt as the barbarians over-ran the Roman Empire. Their name has not been preserved; neither the Egyptian inscriptions nor the Greek writers mention it, although the Egyptian texts are most minute when they describe the adversaries of Rameses II. mustering at Kadesh, or the invaders who threatened the empire under Merenphthah or Rameses III.

[5] Bunsen, Egypt's Place, vol. ii. p. 424.

Whenever the Hyksos are spoken of it is not by their name, they are described in vague words or even abusive epithets. They are the  *Asiatic shepherds*, or  *the Aamu, the nomads of the East*,  *the shepherds*, or even  *the plague* or *the pestilence*. If therefore they had been a distinct nation or a confederacy such as Rameses II. had to fight, it would be strange that no specific name should be applied to them, and that nothing should connect them with a definite country known to the Egyptians. We are compelled to admit that they were an uncivilized multitude, under the command of chiefs, called in Egyptian  *hik*. They did not belong to the Semitic or to the Turanian stock alone; to class them exclusively in one of these two races seems to me an error; they must be considered as a crowd of mixed origin, in which the two elements may be recognized. Their inroad into Egypt was probably not spontaneous, they were driven to the valley of the Nile by great events which took place in eastern Asia and led to the conquest of Egypt. It is in eastern Asia that we must look for the cause of the invasion of the Hyksos, and on this obscure point an unexpected light has been thrown by Assyriology.

The Assyriologists agree in stating that, from a remote epoch, Chaldæa received in succession and retained on her productive soil ethnical elements of various origins,[6] which in the end were mingled together. Semites, Kuschites or Kossæans have met in this region; they quarrelled for the dominion; each in turn reigned over the other; and at last they formed a population of a mixed character. It is a matter of discussion which of the races has been the oldest, and which has brought the civilization to the other. The question has not yet been solved; but the fact is undisputed that Chaldæa is one of the countries where the different races have been fused together at the earliest epoch.

There is a remarkable coincidence between the events which took place in Mesopotamia and the invasion of the Hyksos. In the year 2280, the King of the Elamites, Khudur Nakhunta, over-ran Chaldæa, which he conquered and pillaged. As a trophy of his victory, he carried to his capital the statue of Nana, the goddess of the city of Urukh. To this act of sacrilegious robbery we are indebted for the knowledge of the campaign of Khudur Nakhunta. For, 1635 years later, Assurbanipal conquered Susa, and restored the statue to the temple from which it had been taken. It must have been one of the high deeds of the campaign in which Assurbanipal took pride, for in the inscription which relates the defeat of Elam, he twice refers to the sacrilege of Khudur Nakhunta, "who did not worship the great gods, and who in his wickedness trusted to his own strength."[7] We see here, what we shall notice also in reference to the Hyksos, that the chief cause of hatred and antipathy between the two nations was diversity of religion. They did not worship the same gods; it was enough to make them enemies, and more than 1600 years afterwards, the people of Accad had not lost the tradition of the misdeeds of the Elamites against their gods.

If Mesopotamia was twenty-two centuries B.C. the scene of great wars and bloody invasions, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the effect was felt as far as the banks of the Nile. The waves raised by the storm which came from Elam overflooded Egypt. In Mesopotamia there have always been nomads as well as a settled population. From there a multitude, not much advanced in civilization, and of mixed origin, thus justifying to a certain degree the predicate of "ignoble" given them by

[6] Perrot et Chipiez, Assyrie, p. 17.

[7] Lenormant, Hist. anc. iv. 92.

Manetho, was driven out by the mountaineers of Elam, and it pushed on as far as Egypt. It is evident that here we launch out into conjecture; but this hypothesis seems to me to account in the best way for the few facts on which we can argue. "Phœnicians" or "Arabs" are the geographical names assigned to the Hyksos by Manetho and Josephus; "Phœnicians" meaning, in my opinion, invaders coming through Palestine, which was the natural way; as for the term "Arabs," it may be synonymous with that of "nomads." One fact remains, the absence in the Egyptian inscriptions of a specific name connecting the Hyksos with a definite country, while they are always mentioned by vague and general epithets—*the eastern shepherds, the nomads*, and the like. Such qualifications may very well apply to a wandering crowd without fixed residence, which, after having perhaps made several intermediate stations, came down upon Egypt and conquered it without great difficulty.

The name Hyksos, given them by Manetho, is of recent formation, and certainly later than the campaigns of Seti I. and Rameses II. in Syria. It does not occur in this form in the Egyptian inscriptions; but it is certain that it is formed in a regular way, and it reminds one of other words of the same kind. Egyptologists are divided with respect to the interpretation to be given to the name. Some, like Prof. Krall,[8] adopt the translation of Josephus, and derive it from the word *hak*, meaning a *prisoner*. It would thus be a term of contempt, such as we often meet with. *hak n Shasu, the Shasu prisoners*, or *bound with chains*, αἰχμάλωτοι ποιμένες, would be like *the vile Kheta*, and other expressions of the same nature. It may be objected that the word *hak* is not employed as an epithet, but always applies to actual prisoners. Once, for instance when it precedes the name of the Shasu, we see on the sculpture the captives tied by the elbows and brought to Egypt. I believe, with the majority of Egyptologists, that the other interpretation is the best, and that the first syllable of the word Hyksos must be derived from the Egyptian a *prince* or a *chief*. There is nothing extraordinary in the fact that the whole nation is called *the chiefs of the Shasu*. We have an expression quite parallel in a papyrus of the twelfth dynasty.[9] The wanderer Saneha, after having settled in the land of Tennu, is obliged to repel *the chiefs of the mountains*, *hiku setu*. There the word *chief* evidently refers to the whole tribe of highlanders. Let us replace the word *setu*, by *Shasu*, and we have the expression Hyksos. As for the second part of the word, it clearly comes from the word the best translation of which is *nomad* or *shepherd*, and which became the Coptic ϣωως, a *shepherd*. The Shasu were vagrants, the Bedouins of the present day, wandering over the eastern portion of Egypt, in the desert, the crossing of which they endangered. If the word is not very ancient in Egypt, as Prof. Krall observes, it is because of its Semitic origin. It is connected with the word שָׁסַס, *to pillage*, and it was introduced into Egypt under the New Empire, when the Semitic words were adopted in abundance.

Thus in the 23rd century B.C. nomad tribes coming from Mesopotamia, and ruled by *chiefs*, overran Egypt, and took possession of the Delta. The conquest was facilitated, if not by anarchy, at least by the instability and the

[8] Aeg. Studien, ii. p. 69 et seq. De Cara, Gli Hyksos, p. 212 et seq.

[9] Pap. de Berlin, i. l. 98. Leps. Koenigsb. pl. 26.

weakness of the royal power. They advanced probably as far as Memphis. Undoubtedly the invasion was marked by the acts of savagery and the depredations with which Manetho reproaches the Hyksos. It has always been the case in eastern wars, especially when an uncivilized nation fell upon a land like Egypt, the wealth and fertility of which contrasted with the neighbouring countries, and still more with the desert. But the superiority of the civilized race was not long before becoming prevalent. The Egyptians compelled their conquerors to submit to their habits and customs. The invaders adopted the civilization of their subjects in all but the religion. We may even suppose that when they settled in the land, the Hyksos maintained the Egyptian administration. The officials, who were always very numerous in Egypt, and who in their inscriptions take as first title *scribe* or *writer*, must necessarily have been natives, as they alone knew the language, the writing, and the customs of the country. It was so at the time of the Arab conquest; the officials remained the same as before, they were Copts.[1] But we have a more striking example, which proves that it was usual with Oriental conquerors to do so. The cuneiform tablets newly discovered at Tell el Amarna, contain reports directed to the King of Egypt by the governors of the cities of Syria and Palestine, which had been subdued by the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, and which were thus under Egyptian dominion. These reports are written in Babylonian, a language then current in Eastern Asia, and which the King of Egypt understood but imperfectly, as he was obliged to have recourse to a dragoman who interpreted the letters of the kings of Mesopotamia. It is clear that the governors who wrote the reports were not Egyptians, they were natives to whom Thothmes or Amenophis had left their appointment. In the same way we see that the Assyrian kings, who conquered Egypt, gave native princes as governors to the great cities. It was not different at the time of the Hyksos invasion. After a time of warfare and disturbance, the length of which we cannot appreciate, the country settled down and resumed an appearance very similar to what it had been before. The worship alone was different. Thus the continuity was preserved in the progress of Egyptian civilization. There is only a slight difference between the New Empire and the Middle, for the Hyksos had not put an end to the former state of things. Under their rule there was a weakening in the life of the nation, a kind of temporary pause in its artistic and intellectual growth; but as the root of the tree had not been cut off, it very soon shot forth new branches. At the same time, as the chief discrepancy between the Hyksos and their subjects lay in religion, it explains the persisting hatred of the Egyptians against the invaders, who were always considered as impure and barbarians, because they were hostile to the gods of the land.

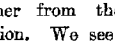
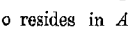
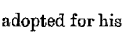
Manetho, quoted by Josephus, informs us that the Hyksos reigned over Egypt 511 years, and that their kings formed the fifteenth and sixteenth dynasties. Africanus[2] assigns to their dominion a duration of 518 years. It is hardly possible to reconcile the dates supplied by the various chronographers at this obscure period. The two sources from which we derive the most extensive information are Josephus and Africanus, who establish in the following way the list of the kings.

Josephus.	Africanus.
Salatis.	Saites.
Beon.	Bnon.
Apachnas.	Pachnan.
Apophis.	Staan.
Ianias or Annas.	Archles.
Assis.	Aphobis.

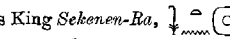
[1] Petrie, Tanis ii. p. 16.

[2] Erman, Zeitschr. 1880, p. 135.

In both authors these kings are indicated as being the first; they are called by Africanus the fifteenth dynasty, to which another, the sixteenth, is said to have followed. But, not to speak of the fact that other authors, like Eusebius or the Old Chronicle, do not mention this subsequent dynasty, the statement of the two chronographers is contradicted by the Egyptian texts; for we shall see that the king called here *Apophis* or *Aphobis* is one of the last, perhaps even the very last Hyksos king, who had to fight the native princes of the seventeenth dynasty. We are thus compelled to admit that there is an inversion in the statement of the chronographers, and we consider the kings of whom they give a list as the sixteenth dynasty.

It is in a papyrus of the British Museum, called Sallier I., that the mention of a Hyksos king has first been discovered. This document, which was translated by Brugsch, E. de Rougé, Goodwin, Chabas, has been the object of much discussion. Quite recently it has been translated anew by Maspero, who denies to the narrative it contains, a historical character, and considers it as a tale or a legend, the end of which has unfortunately been lost. It probably related the beginning of the war between the Hyksos king and his native rival, the prince of Thebes. In spite of its legendary appearance we gather from the document important information. We see that the strangers are called by the offensive epithet of  *the impure*, or *the plague*; they are governed by the king, *Apepi*, who resides in *Avaris*, and who adopted for his god *Sutekh*, exclusive of all others. His adversary is King *Sekenen-Ra*,  who resides in  *the city of the south*, Thebes.

A further step in the knowledge of the Hyksos was made by the discoveries of Mariette in his excavations at Sân (Tanis) in 1860. On the arms of two colossi representing a king of the thirteenth or fourteenth dynasty, he found engraved the cartouches of Apepi, which he at first deciphered incorrectly, but which must be read as follows:—

 *the good god, Raakenen, the son of Ra, Apepi.*

This inscription alone is sufficient to show that in his time the Hyksos were no more the fierce conquerors described by Manetho. They did not destroy the temples, since they wrote their names on the statues made for their native predecessors, and dedicated to the native gods. Besides, though they were worshippers of Set or Sutekh, they considered themselves as sons of Ra, the solar god.

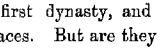
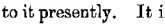
At the same time as the cartouches, Mariette discovered other monuments to which the name of Hyksos has since been applied. They consist of four sphinxes, originally placed on both sides of the avenue leading to the centre of the temple. These sphinxes have a human head surrounded by a very thick and tufted mane. As for the face it has a type quite different from the Egyptian. The nose is wide and aquiline, the cheek-bones are high and strongly marked, the mouth projecting, with stout lips and fleshy corners. At first sight it is impossible not to be struck by the fact that we have here the image of a foreign race, and an art which is not purely Egyptian. No doubt the artist who sculptured them was Egyptian, the workmanship has all the characteristics of native art; but on the faces, which are portraits, we see that the originals belonged to another race, and they clearly betray a foreign element.

Mariette from the first attributed them to the Hyksos, and he was confirmed in his opinion by the fact that on the right shoulder of each sphinx is an inscription hammered out, but where he could decipher the sign of

the god *Set*, and the words , *the good god*. The whole was so like the inscriptions of Apepi that he did not hesitate in reading his name on the sphinxes, and even in attributing their execution to his reign. Since then these monuments have always been called Hyksos. Several others of the same style have been added to the sphinxes; viz. at Sân a group of two standing figures with long hair, and holding offerings of fishes and lotus-flowers; the bust of a king discovered in the Fayoom, and another which Lenormant found in a collection at Rome.

The opinion of Mariette which was admitted at first with great favour, has not remained uncontradicted. It is beyond dispute that these monuments are at least as old as the Hyksos, in spite of the numerous usurpations which they have undergone, even as late as the twenty-first dynasty, and of which they still bear traces. But are they really Hyksos? The question is very much debated, and we shall revert to it presently. It is nearly certain that Apepi was not the author, but the first usurper of the sphinxes. The king who dedicated the monuments would not have engraved his name on the shoulder; the inscription would not be in lightly cut characters at a place where it more or less defaces the statue. However, the usurpation may have been made on the work of another Hyksos. The fact that it was not for Apepi that the sphinxes were sculptured does not imply that it was not for another king of the same race.

Ra aa Kenen is not the only Hyksos ruler who had the prenomen of Apepi. There is another Apepi whose coronation name is *Ra aa user*, and who is known through the mathematical papyrus of the British Museum.[3] We are compelled to admit that there are two Apepis, unless this last coronation name be only a variant of the first, which would not be impossible, since they differ only by the last word instead of , *power* instead of *strength*, the sense of both words is nearly identical.

In order to complete the list of Hyksos kings, known or supposed to be so, before the excavation of Bubastis, I have to mention the king  *Set Nubti* of the famous tablet of the year 400; and the name which Dévéria read on the Bagdad lion now at the British Museum,  *Ra Set noub*. The first is probably not a historical king, but only the god Set; as for the second name, it is a false reading, and we shall see further that this sovereign must be struck out of the list of the Egyptian rulers.

Until now the city which was pre-eminently called Hyksos, was Tanis. There the name of Apepi had been discovered as well as the sphinxes, there also we know that Rameses II. dedicated monuments to Set or Sutekh, the god of the foreign invaders. Thus we could justly consider Tanis as their capital. E. de Rougé even suggested that Tanis was another name for Avaris, the fortified city mentioned by Manetho in his narrative. We did not expect that the result of our excavations would be to reveal the greatest likeness between Tanis and Bubastis. This last city has also been an important settlement of the stranger kings; they raised there constructions at least as large as in the northern city; there also Rameses II. preserved the worship of the alien divinity.

On the way from the second hall to the hypostyle, close to the place of the first columns, I discovered a fragment of a doorpost in red granite, on which originally stood an inscription in two columns. Pl. xxii. A gives an idea of the size of the inscription, which is in quite different proportions from that of Tanis. It has been hammered out; nevertheless, it is quite legible. Close by was a second fragment, which

[3] Eisenlohr. Proc. Bibl. Arch. 1881, p. 97.

evidently was the coronation name, but the erasure is so complete, that there is only a part of the line left which surrounded the cartouche. On one side of the inscription we read (pl. xxxv. c), *the son of Ra, Apepi*, and on the other, *he raised pillars*[4] *in great numbers, and bronze doors to this god.* We do not know who is meant by *this god;* we cannot even assert that it is Set. On another stone walled in the first hall we found the beginning of the titles of Apepi (pl. xxxv. b), such as they are indicated on an altar in the museum of Ghizeh.[5] We learn from these two texts that Apepi made constructions in his reign. It is not a mere usurpation as we found on the monument of Tanis; it is a document inscribed with his name and recording that he increased the temple of Bubastis. The size of the inscription which relates it shows that his work must have been of importance. Once more we recognize the entirely Egyptian form of the work made by the foreign rulers. They have quite assumed the garb of the native Pharaohs. They are called *sons of Ra;* the epithet of *giving life* or *everlasting* follows their cartouches, and the titles of Apepi are similar to those of the twelfth dynasty.

Close to the doorpost, and nearly touching it, stood, a little lower, the base of a statue in black granite, of natural size (pl. xii.). The statue, which is sitting, is broken at the waist; the two hands are stretched on the knees as in the statues of the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties; a narrow band falls between the legs. The style is vigorous; the muscles of the knee are strongly marked, but worked with care; the workmanship reminds us either of the great statues of which we shall speak further, or of the statues of Turin bearing the name of Thothmes III., which undoubtedly are usurped. The feet rest on the nine bows. In spite of the most active and persevering researches we could not find the upper part of the statue. If it has not been destroyed it may be in some European collection. Fortunately both sides of the throne, along the legs, are nearly intact, and have preserved the name of a king at present unknown (pl. xxxv. a). This king, who styles himself the *Horus crowned with the schent*, does not take the title of *King of Upper and Lower Egypt*, like the kings of the twelfth dynasty. He is simply *the good god*, and *the son of Ra*. The standard is *he who embraces territories*. It is followed by the two cartouches.

The first must be read *User en Ra*. The sign, which is usually written has here a peculiar form. Its reading is assured, because it occurs as a variant in the first cartouche of Rameses II.[6]

The second must in my opinion be read *Ra-ian* or rather *Ian-Ra*. Mr. Petrie[7] has proposed the reading *Khian*, taking the upper disk as a ● and not as a solar disk, and laying stress upon the fact that in this cartouche the disk is entirely hollowed out, which it is not in the other, and in the expression . It may be answered that on the same side, just above the second cartouche, the solar disk which accompanies the hawk is also hollowed out, and made exactly like that of the cartouche. Moreover, there is a manifest intention of making the solar disk conspicuous at the top

[4] Brugsch, Dict. hier. p. 1068, gives the word , which he translates *masts*. I give here to the word a wider sense—*pillars*. There was in the temples of Panopolis and Memphis a hall called .

[5] Mar. Mon. divers, pl. 38.

[6] Wilkinson, Mat. Hier. ii. pl. 2. Leps. Koenigsb. pl. 33.

[7] Mr. Petrie quotes two cylinders, one of which is in Athens, the other belongs to Prof. Lanzone. The paper impressions of the cylinder of Athens, which Mr. Griffith kindly sent to me, show a flattened disk, or even an , but not a ●. As for the cylinder of Prof. Lanzone, I have seen it and examined it carefully with the owner. It bears a totally different name, much longer, in which occurs an besides several indistinct signs.

of the cartouche, as is always the case, so that there may be a perfect symmetry between both cartouches as in the name of Apries. The sign is clearly too short, the sculptor was obliged to put it in as he could. It seems that the artist began to engrave the cartouche in the lower part, with the eagle, to which he allowed too large a space, so that there was not sufficient room left for the signs in regular proportions. If he had not been bound to put ○ at the top of the cartouche, isolated as must be done for the name of Ra—in other words, if the disk had been a ● *kh* instead of *Ra* ○ nothing prevented him from writing the ● on the side of the , and beginning the cartouche with ● as is always the case with the cartouche of Xerxes.

Another curious peculiarity to be noticed is the dedication of the statue. Ian-Ra has dedicated it to himself, to his *double* or to his *image*. He is himself his own worshipper. Where is the place of king Ian-Ra? In which dynasty are we to classify him? Is he a Hyksos, or does he belong to a native family? The first cartouche is very like a well-known one, if we do not take into consideration a graphic detail. The letter *s*, which we should take as a complement of the sign is written before, as if we had here an intensitive verb, and that the word should be read *suser*. We might take it as a mere caprice of the artist, if the same peculiarity did not occur on the other monument where this cartouche is written, the Bagdad lion. I believe, therefore, that we cannot identify it with the cartouche *User en Ra*, which belonged to two kings of very different epochs. It is found in the list of Karnak, the exact order of which is difficult to establish, among kings extending from the eleventh to the eighteenth dynasty.[3] It is also the coronation name of king An, of the fifth dynasty,[4] who seems to have had special titles to the reverence of posterity, since, many centuries after his reign, the king Usertesen I. of the twelfth dynasty dedicated to him a statue now in the British Museum. In both cases the graphic variant of the cartouche of Bubastis does not exist, and we cannot identify our king with any of those two, especially not with the king of the fifth dynasty.

As it has been pointed out, first by Mr. Griffith, it is impossible not to recognize the cartouche of Bubastis in the inscription engraved on the chest of the small lion from Bagdad, now at the British Museum.[1] It has been slightly hammered out, but since we can compare the cartouche to another which is quite legible, the identity of both is striking. The is easily recognizable, as well as the head, and the lower part of the equally. As the form of the sign is unusual, one could suppose it was the god Set , though the head is not that of the god. The below has been widened by the erasure, and was interpreted as *nub*. The result is that the king *Ra Set nub*, whom Dévéria believed he had discovered on the lion, rests only on an erroneous reading, and as I said must be struck out of the lists of the kings.

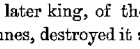
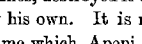
The cartouche of the Bagdad lion is not engraved on the shoulder as with the sphinxes of Tanis, but on the chest, in the place where according to all probabilities the king for whom the monument was made would have had his name written. We may therefore safely conclude that it was under Ian-Ra's reign, and for him that the lion was sculptured. This lion is particularly interesting to us, because it is a monument of the Hyksos style. The head is not human, it is that of the animal, but the mane is exactly similar to the sphinxes

[3] Lepsius classified it in the eleventh.

[4] Lepsius, Answahl, pl. ix.

[1] Vid. Dévéria, Rev. Arch. 1861, ii. p. 256. Tomkins Abraham, p. 160. Maspero, Introd. aux mon. divers de Mariette, p. 21.

of Tanis. Thus we have at last a Hyksos monument, the author and dedicator of which is well established. Ian-Ra had monuments made for him in the foreign style which has been considered as the work of the Hyksos. This very important fact induces us to make a step farther. Is Ian-Ra not the author of the sphinxes of Tanis, which Mariette contended to have belonged to Apepi, but which existed before this king? Apepi inscribed his name on the shoulder, in a place indicating that the monument had on the chest another name which he did not wish to erase, and which we do not see now, because a later king, of the twenty-first dynasty, Psusennes, destroyed it altogether and replaced it by his own. It is natural to suppose that the name which Apepi respected was Ian-Ra, since we have another monument of the same style as the sphinxes bearing it at the regular place.

Another curious feature of this important inscription is the dedication. It is well known that on statues or obelisks the name of the god in honour of whom the monument is made, is found at the end, after the name of the dedicator, and followed by the word *who loves, who worships.* It is useless to quote here instances of which there are hundreds. But here occurs the extraordinary circumstance that Ian-Ra is worshipper of his own person:  , *he loves, he worships his double, his own image.* It reminds us of what is related in several texts, of the ungodliness of the Hyksos. The inscription of Stabl Antar says (l. 3),  , *they reigned, ignoring Ra,* meaning hereby in hostility against Ra, although the god appeared in their names and titles. The Sallier papyrus is still more explicit in its statement. It relates that with the exception of Sutekh, none of the gods of Egypt received the worship which was due to them, while the king Apepi was a fervent adorer of the foreign divinity. Clearly there was a great difference as to religion between the Hyksos and the Egyptians, who considered the strangers as impious and as enemies of their own gods.

Since Set or Sutekh was the divinity of the foreign dynasty, it is extraordinary that his name does not appear on the statue of Ian-Ra, who seems to have had no other god than himself. This circumstance corroborates the idea recently put forward by the Rev. Father De Cara. The learned Jesuit suggests that the worship of Set was instituted by Apepi, and that from this important event of his reign dates the era mentioned on the famous tablet of the year 400, dedicated by Rameses II. It would explain why the name of Set is absent from the statue of Ian-Ra while it exists in the inscriptions of the sphinxes of Tanis. Perhaps Apepi had not yet achieved his great religious reform when he erected at Bubastis the great constructions, the mention of which has been preserved. They were made in honour of *this god,* we do not know which, for it would be rash to draw any conclusion from the spot where the stones have been unearthed. In a temple which has been overthrown so often and so completely as Bubastis, no conclusive evidence may be derived from the vicinity of two stones. Because the doorpost with the name of Apepi and dedicated to *this god,* was close to the statue of Ian-Ra, the worshipper of himself, we cannot infer that the divinity which Apepi had in mind was the same Ian-Ra, whom he might have worshipped as his ancestor or as a deified predecessor. This hypothesis, without being impossible, is not very probable. Nevertheless, in this strange dedication of the statue of Ian-Ra, there is a characteristic feature which is not in conformity with what we usually see in the truly Egyptian statues; and in my opinion it is another proof that Ian-Ra was a Hyksos. I believe even that Ian-Ra is one of the kings mentioned by Josephus as Ἰανᾶς

or Ἀννᾶς, which must perhaps be read Ἰαννᾶς.

To the epoch of the Hyksos belong the two finest monuments discovered at Bubastis—one of which is at the museum of Ghizeh, and the other at the British Museum—I mean the two colossal sitting statues in black granite which were placed near each other on the east side of the temple at the entrance of the first hall, and both on the same side of the great columns which adorned the doorway. Unfortunately they are in pieces. It has been impossible to find even one of them complete. The first fragment which appeared was the top of a head-dress, wearing the royal asp; the forehead was attached to the diadem, and the head had been broken horizontally, at the height of the eyes, which were hollowed out. A few strokes on the eyelids look like lashes, and they may have produced the illusion when seen from below, for it is not certain that the hollow of the eyes was inlaid with other material. A few days afterwards the lower part of the head was unearthed (pl. xi.), and we recognised directly the type of the sphinxes of Tanis—the same high and strongly marked cheek-bone, while the cheeks are rather hollow, the projecting mouth with stout lips and the fleshy protuberances at the corners. The nose, which has been preserved nearly in its whole length, is wide, strong at its origin, and aquiline. This time it was not a sphinx which had been found, it was a royal head, dressed as we often see the kings of the twelfth or the thirteenth dynasty.

At a few feet distance we came across the lower part of the legs of a colossal statue in black granite, which evidently was part of the same monument (pl. iv. and xxv. D). But when, the infiltration water having receded, we were able to excavate, we quite unexpectedly came upon the lower part of the torso and the knees which belonged to this base, besides another base of the same size and of the same workmanship, lying on its side (pl. xxvi. D). It was clear that there were two twin statues, and as we had the head of one, we could reasonably hope to find the other. It happened two days afterwards. The second head was discovered in a much better state of preservation than the first; it is now in the British Museum (pl. i. and x.) Thus the entrance of the temple of Bubastis was adorned with two colossal statues of the same size exactly, which had been most wantonly destroyed, so that it was not possible to reconstitute one of them, in spite of the most careful researches. Pl. xxvi. B exhibits the manner in which the fragments were placed when they were first exposed to light. It shows two fragments of the statue of the British Museum, the lower part of the torso and the knees, which are one block, and the extremity of the legs, which had been seen first. The head was a little deeper, close to the knees, and deeper still the toes; but the statue could not be completed, the upper part of the torso from the waist to the neck has disappeared. The other base was lying on its side. When it was dragged out of the mud, we found that it had been split in two from top to bottom, so that there is only one leg left. The fragment has been carried to the museum of Ghizeh, with the head first discovered; it is all that remains of that statue. Pl. xxiv. D shows the base after it had been raised. There is the greatest likeness in the workmanship between this base and the statue of Ian-Ra. Unfortunately on neither of the two colossi have we been able to discover the name of the king whom they represent.

Looking at the two heads together one notices that the type is the same; the foreign characteristics which belong to the Hyksos face are marked as much in one as in the other; but there is not identity between the two faces. The head of the British Museum is the image of a younger man. It is not so full as that of Ghizeh; on the whole it has a more juvenile appearance. It may be that they are

the portraits of two different men, for instance a father and a son; but it is possible also that it is the same man at two epochs of his life, one young, perhaps, when he had but shortly ascended the throne, the other when he was more advanced in years. Notwithstanding minute examinations of the two statues, we could not find out the name of the king or the kings whose likenesses they are. The photograph of the base of Ghizeh shows two successive erasures (pl. xxiv. *b*). The group of the two Niles is of the style of the twelfth or thirteenth dynasty, and such as we recognized before on monuments of that time. Above it Rameses II. had engraved his name. His standard is still extant; it was adopted later by Osorkon II. The part which was hammered out most deeply was the place of the cartouches, which were transformed or engraved with the name of Osorkon II. This king usurped both statues. His name and his titles may be seen on the base of the one at the British Museum. The place where the name of the king who erected the statues must have stood, is the edge of the throne, along the legs on both sides. There the base of the British Museum shows a very deep erasure, where we can still distinguish at the top and between the cartouches. At Ghizeh the signs of the coronation name of Rameses II. are nearly all discernible, but so deep that it cannot have been the original inscription.

It is only conjecturally that we can assign a name to these statues; and what seems most natural is to give them the same as to the sphinxes of Tanis. It may be either Apepi or Ian-Ra. Apepi, we know through his inscription, made such large constructions at Bubastis that he may well have desired to leave his portrait in the temple. As for Ian-Ra we have no proof that he built much, but we know that he had monuments of the same kind sculptured for him.

Thus after having much hesitated myself, I am brought back by my excavations to the opinion of Mariette, and I believe that the monuments which he assigned to the Hyksos are really the work of the foreign kings. It seems well established that they are later than the twelfth dynasty, with which they have no likeness in the type. The same may be said of the thirteenth; neither the Sebekhoteps, nor Neferhotep, nor one of the least known Mermashu of Tanis have the strange features of the sphinxes or of the two statues of Bubastis. There remains the fourteenth dynasty, the history of which is nearly unknown, and the Hyksos. But if the fourteenth is a dynasty of native princes, as we hear from Manetho, why should they have given to their statues and sphinxes a decidedly strange character? Is it not more natural to suppose that the Asiatic type was introduced into Egypt by the Asiatics themselves? Is the coincidence not sufficiently striking that we may conclude that it proceeded from a common origin? Now the limits of the problem have been very much narrowed. We have the choice only between the fourteenth dynasty and the Hyksos. We do not know when the fourteenth dynasty began, nor can we tell when the thirteenth ended; but the scanty information which we possess does not point between the two to an abrupt and sudden change, such as would have been produced by a foreign invasion. Admitting even with Manetho that the first was Diospolite, and the second Xoïte, this circumstance does not account for such a deep alteration in the type, nor for such an obviously foreign character in the features of the face. Therefore the conclusion to which Mariette had arrived seems to me by far the most satisfactory, and I consider that the group of monuments to which he gave the name of Hyksos really belongs to them.

However, the share which they have contributed in works such as the great statues, is merely the type, the character of the face. All that regards the execution, the technical side,

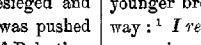
is essentially Egyptian, even the attitude. The Shepherd kings employed native artists for making their portraits. They had submitted to the Egyptian civilization. They had yielded to the ascendency which a superior race will always exert on less civilized invaders; but we may understand their desire that their foreign origin should be recorded somewhere, and nothing could show it as well as a good portrait. It is obvious that the artist endeavoured to give an exact likeness of the king; it is shown by the great difference which exists between the head and the lower part of the body, where the hand of a less clever sculptor is easily traceable. Certainly under the Hyksos Egyptian art had not degenerated. The two heads of Bubastis are among the most beautiful monuments which have been preserved. It is impossible not to admire the vigour of the work as well as the perfection with which the features are modelled. There is something harder, even perhaps more brutal than in the type of the Ramessides, whose features are more refined and gracious; but it comes from the difference in the originals, which did not belong to the same race.

After a long circuit we thus return to our starting point, and we inquire again, where was the native of country the Hyksos? consulting instead of historical documents, the ethnological characters which may appear on the monuments. On this point we find a nearly complete agreement between two of the most eminent ethnologists of the present day—Prof. Flower in England, and Prof. Virchow in Germany. The illustrious German saw the head now belonging to the British Museum on the spot, a few days after it had been discovered, and he published a drawing of it in a paper read at the Berlin Academy. Prof. Virchow was struck at first sight by the foreign character of the features, but he added that it was very difficult to give their precise ethnological definition. "It may be," says he, "that the models of these heads were Turanians, but I should not be able to say which." Prof. Flower expresses himself in a more positive way on the Mongoloïd affinities of the Hyksos. There is nothing in these statements which is not in perfect harmony with the historical facts which are mentioned above, as having been the cause of the invasion of the Hyksos. The presence of a Turanian race in Mesopotamia at a remote epoch is no more questioned by most Assyriologists. It does not mean that the whole bulk of the invaders, the entire population which settled in Egypt, was of Turanian origin. It would be contrary to well-established historical facts. It is certain that all that remained in Egypt of the Hyksos, in the language, in the worship, in the name of *Aamu*, by which they were called, everything points to a decidedly Semitic influence. But the kings may very well not have been Semites. How often do we see in eastern monarchies and even in European states a difference of origin between the ruling class, to which the royal family belongs, and the mass of the people. We need not leave Western Asia and Egypt; we find there Turks ruling over nations to the race of which they do not belong, although they have adopted their religion. In the same way as the Turks of Bagdad, who are Finns, now reign over Semites, Turanian kings may have led into Egypt and governed a population of mixed origin where the Semitic element was prevalent. If we consider the mixing up of races which took place in Mesopotamia in remote ages, the invasions which the country had to suffer, the repeated conflicts of which it was the theatre, there is nothing extraordinary that populations coming out of this land should have presented a variety of races and origins. Therefore I believe that though we cannot derive a direct evidence from ethnological considerations, they do not oppose the opinion stated above that the starting point of the invasion of the Hyksos must be looked for in

Mesopotamia, and that the conquest of Egypt by the Shepherds was the consequence of the inroads of the Elamites into the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

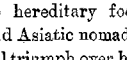
THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

It is undoubtedly to the kings of the eighteenth dynasty that we must give the credit of having begun the war against the Hyksos, and having embarked in a struggle which ended in the deliverance of the country from the yoke of the foreign dynasty. However, notwithstanding their great and persevering efforts, Ahmes and Sekenen-Ra did not succeed in achieving this arduous task. The invaders were finally driven out by the kings who followed, and who were not their immediate successors. The writers who have discussed this subject seem to me to have attached too much importance to the campaign related in the famous inscription of *Ahmes*. The general tells us that under King Ahmes I. the city of *Avaris* was besieged and conquered, and that the expedition was pushed as far as *Sharohan*, on the frontier of Palestine. This narrative, engraved in his tomb, has often been considered as describing the final deliverance of Egypt, which, however, does not seem to have been realized as early as the seventeenth dynasty. It is probable that if the Delta had been occupied in a stable and permanent manner by the kings of the seventeenth dynasty, and by the first sovereign of the eighteenth, some traces of their dominion would have remained in the country, whereas, on the contrary, it is a remarkable fact that, before the excavations at Bubastis, no monument of their time had been discovered in the Delta. In every place where excavations have been made, either by our predecessors or by ourselves, if not statues or larger monuments, at least names have been discovered of the twelfth dynasty, of the thirteenth, or even of much more ancient kings belonging to the fourth or the fifth; but nothing whatever of the seventeenth or of the eighteenth. Except the serpent of Benha, now in the museum of Ghizeh, and which dates from Amenophis III., before our discoveries at Bubastis no monument of the Delta could be attributed with certainty to those princes. It would be extraordinary, however, that wherever an excavation has been made, at Tanis, Pithom, Nebesheh, Tell Mokdam, Khataanah, Tell el Yahoodieh, Saft el Henneh, especially in the localities where ancient monuments have been discovered, precisely those of the seventeenth and eighteenth dynasties should have disappeared. But we have discovered at Bubastis *Amenophis II.*, and two of his successors; and at the same time the fellaheen unearthed at Samanood a large tablet bearing the names of *Amenophis IV.* and *Horemheb*.

The explanation of these facts seems to me quite natural. In an inscription at Stabl Antar, which describes her high deeds, the queen *Hashepsu*, the sister and guardian of the younger brother, Thothmes III., speaks in this way:[1] *I restored what was in ruins, and I built up again what had remained (uncompleted) when the Aamu were in the midst of Egypt of the North, and in the city of Hauar, and when the Shepherds*  *among them had destroyed the (ancient) works. They reigned ignoring Ra, and disobeying his divine commands, until I sat down on the throne of Ra.* Making allowance for the exaggeration which is usual in an Egyptian inscription, the passage seems to establish that order was far from being restored in the Delta when the queen ascended the throne; the edifices ruined by the Aamu, the subjects of Apepi, had not yet been rebuilt, and probably an administrative organization could hardly be said to exist. However, before her reign, Ahmes, Amenophis I., Thothmes I., had carried

[1] Golénischeff, Recueil de Travaux, vol. iii. p. 2, vol. vi. l. 36 et suiv. De Cara, Hyksos, p. 271.

war into Syria and even as far as Mesopotamia, and could not have done it without marching through the Delta. We must admit that their wars had not been sufficient to overthrow and finally destroy the Asiatics, who may have had a party in Egypt. But it was different with the conquests of Thothmes III., which had a lasting result, since we know from the tablets of Tell el Amarna, that under his successors Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV., Syria and part of Mesopotamia were still tributary to Egypt.

The first campaign of Thothmes III. was directed against the hereditary foes of his empire, the Syrians and Asiatic nomads; and in order to assert his final triumph over his formidable enemies, and to perpetuate its remembrance, he built in the land of *Remenen* a fort or castle, which he called *Menkheperra* (*Thothmes*) *subdues the nomads*  [2] This name is very significant when it is connected with the information derived from the inscription of Hashepsu. Moreover, immediately after Thothmes III. the monuments appear again in the Delta, and the most ancient is the stone discovered at Bubastis. These different facts have led me to conclude with Lepsius that it was Thothmes III. who finally delivered Egypt from the Hyksos, and who secured the country against their invasions; for it is certain that a part of the people remained in the land and accepted the dominion of the Pharaohs.

This opinion on the work of Thothmes III. seems to me confirmed by the very corrupt passage in which Manetho, quoted by Josephus, relates the expulsion of the Hyksos. It is said, that under a king whose name must be read *Misphragmuthosis*, the Shepherds were driven out of Egypt, and took refuge in the city of Avaris.[3] I have suggested elsewhere [4] that the word Misphragmuthosis consists in two different names fused in one—*Misaphris* or *Mesphres* and *Thouthmosis*. Misaphris or Mesphres is a Greek transcription, easily explained, of *Menkheperra*, the coronation name of Thothmes III. The name quoted by Josephus and Eusebius is only the two cartouches of Thothmes III. combined in one word.

The stone of Amenophis II. (pl. xxxv. D) is a slab in red granite with two panels. It was at the entrance of the hall of Nekhthorheb, the most western in the temple. It was brought from another part of the edifice; for though we rolled many of the neighbouring blocks we did not find anything else of that epoch. In turning over the slab itself we saw the reason why it has been preserved. It was put in later times as a threshold, or rather as an upper lintel to a door, and the slot-holes are still visible, in which the hinges were inserted (pl. xxvi. A).

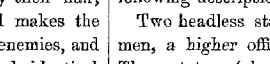
On the slab are two sculptured panels in opposite directions to each other. In both of them, the king Amenophis II. is seen standing and making offerings to the god Amon, who sits on his throne. The king promises him as a reward, health, strength, happiness, courage, according to the usual formulas. It is strange that we find no mention of Bast, who at that time seems not to have been the chief local divinity; whereas the god whose worship was prevalent was *Amon-Ra*, *the king of the gods, the great king, the lord of the sky*. After his name, comes the mention of the place where he is worshipped, and where he is considered as residing. We should expect to find here *Bast*, the usual name of Bubastis. But that is not the case, and we come across a totally different name, *he who dwells in Perunefer*. This name has only been met with once, by Brugsch,[5] who discovered it on a tablet of the museum of Ghizeh, which speaks of a controller of the workshops, *in the city of Perunefer*. We must infer

[1] Brugsch, Rec. pl. xliii. Aegypt. p. 328.

[3] Ἐπὶ δὲ βασιλέως ᾧ ὄνομα εἶναι Μισφραγμούθωσις ἠττωμένους φησὶ τοὺς ποιμένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου πάσης ἐκπεσεῖν κατακλεισθῆναι δ' εἰς τόπον . . . Αὔαριν. Muller, Fragm. ii. p. 567. [4] Zeitschr. 1883, p. 9.

[5] Dict. Geog. p. 221.

from the inscription of Amenophis II., that Perunefer is the oldest name of Bubastis. Though we found a dedication to Bast as early as Amenemha I., it is clear that under the eighteenth dynasty, the worship of the goddess was not the most important in the city, the sanctuary of which was the abode of the Theban god Amon.

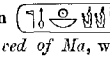
We do not know in what consisted the constructions of Amenophis II., but they must have had a certain importance, since a following king thought it necessary to renew them. Between the two panels is a vertical inscription in two columns, which contains the following text:—*The king of Upper and Lower Egypt made the renovation of the buildings of . . . The son of Ra, Seti meri en Phthah caused to prosper the house of his father like Ra.* Thus Seti I. renewed the construction which had been raised by his predecessor. The same fact occurs at Thebes,[6] on the south pylon of the temple of Karnak. There, a large sculpture represents Amenophis II. striking a group of enemies, whom he holds bound together by their hair, before the God Amon. The god makes the usual promise of victory over his enemies, and before the god is an inscription nearly identical to that of Bubastis,  *the renovation of the monuments was made by the King Ramenma, everlasting.*

It may be asked what reason induced Seti I. to build up again or to restore the works of his predecessor. I believe that when he renewed the monuments of Amenophis II. he was actuated by a religious motive, by the desire to propitiate Amon, perhaps at the moment when he entered on his Asiatic campaigns, for which Bubastis must have been the starting point. It was an offering which he made to the god in order to court his favour, or as fulfilment for a vow. It would be easy to quote kings or generals acting in a similar way during the Middle Ages or even in modern times. Seti I. had to fight the *Shasu* on the frontiers of his empire. In passing through Bubastis he promised to Amon to repair the constructions erected there by Amenophis II., and which had perhaps suffered during the reign of the heretical King Amenophis IV.; nothing is more in accordance with the religious ideas of all times.

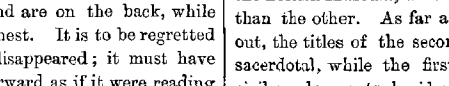
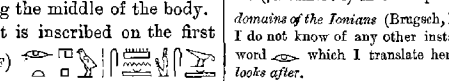
Amenophis II. was followed by an obscure king, *Thothmes IV.*, after whom one of the most powerful sovereigns of Egypt, *Amenophis III.*, ascended the throne. He is the only one whose monuments were known in the Delta before our excavations; these monuments were scarabs which the fellaheen discovered in the mounds of Tell Basta, and a stone serpent deposited in the museum of Ghizeh, which is the local form of Horus, worshipped in the city of Athribis now called Benha. The monuments of the time of *Amenophis III.* which we discovered, are four in number, and are of the following description:—

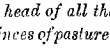
Two headless statues representing the same men, a higher official also called Amenophis. These statues (pl. xiii.), both of black granite, are very unequal as to workmanship. That which is on the left of the plate is in the museum of Ghizeh, the other is in the British Museum. The first was sculptured by a clever and skilled artist: it is a fine piece of work, remarkable in particular for the elaborate modelling of the body, which is covered by a garment of very thin material, a long gown tied at the neck by two braces. The man is sitting cross-legged, in a position which is frequent with Orientals; the legs, folded under the garment, are not detached. He holds in the left hand a papyrus which he unrolls with the right on his lap; from the left hand hangs also a kind of purse or bag, the use of which I cannot tell. On the papyrus is an inscription to which we shall have to revert. The date of the monument was

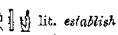
[6] Leps. Denkm. iii. 61.

furnished by a part of the garment (pl. XXV. B). The two braces by which it is held are tied together on the back by a kind of broach or slide, on which is the following inscription  , *the good god, Neb Ma Ra, beloved of Ma*, which is the first cartouche of Amenophis III. The same ornament and inscription are found on the second statue, which in addition has on the chest the cartouche of the king. The other peculiarity of this statue, which to my knowledge has not been met with before, is the manner in which his title of scribe or official is indicated. The sign is placed on the left shoulder in such a way that the reed and the inkstand are on the back, while the purse is on the chest. It is to be regretted that the head has disappeared; it must have been slightly bent forward as if it were reading the text of the papyrus.

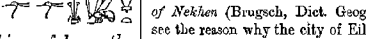
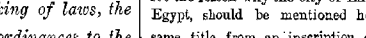
The second statue is not quite so large, it is below natural proportions; the workmanship is inferior to that of the other; the position is nearly the same, but there is no papyrus, and the titles of the man are inscribed on a vertical column running along the middle of the body.

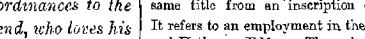
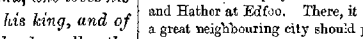
The following text is inscribed on the first statue:—[7] (pl. XXXV. F)  *The making of laws, the establishing of Ma, the giving ordinances to the friends, by the prince, the first friend, who loves his lord, the head of all the works of his king, and of the provinces of pasture marshes, the chancellor, the governor of the city, the general Amenophis the beloved.* This inscription must be compared with that of the other statue: (Pl. XXXV. E).  [8] This one is more obscure than the first, though it is clear that it refers to the same man. But as the titles are different, we must admit that he had the two statues sculptured at two different epochs of his life. As the other one is of better workmanship, and as it contains titles which on the whole indicate a higher position than the second, we may conclude that he began with the statue of the British Museum, which was dedicated earlier than the other. As far as we can make them out, the titles of the second statue are merely sacerdotal, while the first shows political and civil employments, besides, here they are not so numerous: *the prince who takes care of the domains of the temples, the chief of Nekhen who*

[7]  lit. *establish the truth* or *justice*, indicates legislative work. This expression, and the more frequent one of which occurs in the titles of several kings, must be translated *legislator*.

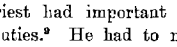
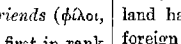
 The reading of I consider to be , which Goodwin translates *pasture*, and Brugsch (Dict. Suppl. p. 490) *level plain*.

[8] is to be read *atelu*, and means *cultivated land, domains*. It is met with also in an inscription of Rameses II. (pl. XXXVII. C) in the expression *the domains of the Ionians* (Brugsch, Dict. suppl. p. 171 et 765). I do not know of any other instance where it follows the word which I translate here, *who takes care of, who looks after*.

I cannot interpret this word, *the great hall*, otherwise than *the temple of Bubastis*.  lit. *the chief of Nekhen* (Brugsch, Dict. Geog. p. 355). One does not see the reason why the city of Eilithyiaspolis, or even Upper Egypt, should be mentioned here. Brugsch quotes the same title from an inscription of Esneh,  . It refers to an employment in the great festivals of Horus and Hather at Edfoo. There, it *is natural* that the chief of a great neighbouring city should play an important part in the festival. But at Bubastis, in Lower Egypt, it would be extraordinary. In my opinion, the expression must be considered as a mere title, and we must leave aside the literal sense, which may be historically true, but which has lost its original meaning, as is so often the case at the present day with sacerdotal or royal titles.

 lit. *who calms, who quiets his going*, meaning of course, *who, stops, who remains*, another priestly right or privilege analogous to what we find elsewhere  *to go in and out*.

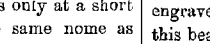
stops his march in the holy place, the governor of the city, the general Amenophis who lives again. Nekhen is properly the name of the city of Eilithyiaspolis, now called El Kab, which is often taken as an emblem for Upper Egypt; but I believe that here we must entirely put aside the geographical sense, and take the expression *chief of Nekhen* as meaning a certain employment in the great religious festivals, as we know from an inscription of late epoch in the temple of Esneh, and as we may infer from the title which follows.

This priest had important administrative and civil duties.[2] He had to make laws and ordinances which applied to the *friends* (φίλοι,) of the kings, as he was the first in rank among those officials who occur already in very early inscriptions. We have to notice the absence of precise geographical indications; there is no name of a city or of a nome. Where we expect to find Bubastis mentioned we find only this:  , *the provinces of the pasture marshes of the North.* It is spoken elsewhere of,  , *the marsh of Bubastis.* So there must have been pasture land in the vicinity of Bubastis, and this reminds us of what is said in the great inscription of Merenphthah, of the country around the city of Bailos[2] (Belbeis), which was only at a short distance, and belonged to the same nome as Bubastis. It is also close to this city that we have determined the original site of the land of Goshen.[3] The expression "nomes of marshes," or "of pasture land," seems to point to a fact which is confirmed by several other inscriptions, that several of the nomes of Lower Egypt were not yet organized as they were under the Ptolemies, and had not yet the names given them at a later epoch. They do not appear on the list of Seti I., where we find in their stead names of water districts. Under Amenophis III. the administrative organization of the country could not be so complete as it was many centuries later, considering that it was not long since the land had been wrested from the hands of the foreign invaders.

Another monument of the time of Amenophis III. was a double group, which must have been very elegant. It represented a man and his wife. The head of the woman alone has been preserved, with a fragment of inscription engraved on the back (pl. xxxv. c). It is the priest who speaks and who describes all the honours with which he has been overwhelmed. He says that he was raised to the dignity of *chief* , and that the king put him above all his retinue. He adds that he reached old age, having continually enjoyed the favour of the king. The cartouche of Amenophis III., engraved on the chest, gave us the date of this beautiful fragment.

We must not omit the base of a small statue, of which the feet alone have been preserved, as well as the inscriptions engraved on both sides. It was made for an official of the palace called *Kherfu* (pl. xxxv. b, b'). The Berlin museum[4] contains a kneeling statue of the same man, with the name of Amenophis III., which has furnished the date for the monument of Bubastis.

Thus our excavations have yielded monuments of several officers of Amenophis III. The state

[1] Since this was written the museum of Ghizeh has purchased a statue, the workmanship of which has the greatest likeness with the first statue of Bubastis. It is made of painted sandstone. The attitude is nearly the same, as well as the characteristic ornament , and the statue, is complete. The brooch is not visible, because it is covered by the long and thick hair. The statue comes from Gurnah, one of the villages situate on the site of Thebes. I believe it is the same man who had not yet been promoted to the high dignities which he attained at Bubastis. His name and title are:  *the writer of the books of holy words of Amon, Amenophis.*

[2] Brugsch, Dict. Geog. p. 207.

[2] Vid. Naville, Goshen, Appendix. The Mound of the Jew, p. 22.

[3] Goshen, p. 14 and ff.

[4] Catalogue, p. 61.

of destruction in which they have been found shows that the temple may have contained more of them, which have disappeared. Bubastis was a good starting point for a sovereign like Amenophis III., who made both military and hunting expeditions into Mesopotamia, and who had contracted family ties with the kings of *Naharaïn*, as we learn from the tablets of Tell el Amarna. The same documents show that under Amenophis IV. the kings of Mesopotamia who had been tributary to the father were also vassals to the son. He must therefore have been attracted to Bubastis for the same purposes as Amenophis III. In fact, his presence there has also been recognized. A thick slab of red granite, which probably was the base of a statue or of an altar, bears on its edge the name of the particular god worshipped by Amenophis IV. (pl. xxxv. 1) after he had made his religious reform, and adopted himself the name of *Khuenaten*. The name of the god has been preserved, as in many other instances, because the stone was inserted in a wall; for, the other side, where stood the cartouche of the king, has been hammered out. The surface on which lay the statue or the altar dedicated by Amenophis IV. bears two large cartouches of Rameses II. The stone is now in the museum of Ghizeh.

The historical result derived from the inscriptions of Bubastis, has been to show that the eighteenth dynasty had left important traces in the Delta; and this result has been confirmed by the discovery made at Samanood of a great tablet with the cartouches of Amenophis IV. and Horemheb. The eighteenth dynasty has reigned over the Delta; but at present we do not find it earlier than Thothmes III., the great conqueror who subdued Syria, Palestine, and part of Mesopotamia. The conclusion which we are to-day compelled to draw, but which may be upset to-morrow by further explorations, is that the dominion of the Pharaohs over the Delta was re-established only after Thothmes III., and after he had by his successful wars struck down and subjugated his Asiatic neighbours. Before his reign, the consequences of the struggle against the Hyksos were still felt. Perhaps the foreigners had not yet been completely driven out, in spite of the victories of Ahmes and the capture of Avaris; perhaps, also, the Pharaohs did not feel sufficiently strong to occupy the whole land, and to restore over its whole area the administration and the worship which would have entailed upon them the reconstruction of considerable edifices. Taking Hashepsu's word, it was she who began this difficult task.

Concerning the temple itself, I must recall here what I said before as to the date of the hypostyle hall, consisting of two sorts of columns and two sorts of Hathor-capitals. I believe it must be attributed to the twelfth dynasty, and not to the eighteenth. It is difficult to understand how no traces of the eighteenth should have remained on the architraves where we discovered traces of the twelfth. Surely the columns must be of the same age as the architraves they had to support. Future excavations alone will solve the question of the origin of this style of architecture. It is much to be regretted that two of the most important temples bearing the names of Amenophis III., *Soleb* and *Sedeinga* in Nubia, are now inaccessible, owing to the disturbed state of the country. Researches in those localities would show whether it was really Amenophis III. who raised those important buildings, whether it was he who introduced in Egyptian architecture the palm-leaf column and the Hathor-capital, or whether, as I am inclined to believe, he gave Rameses II. the example of attributing to himself the work of the Amenemhas, the Usertesens, and the Sebekhoteps.

I also attribute to the eighteenth dynasty a strange monument of which I know no other specimen, and which is now in the museum of Ghizeh (pl. xxi. B and C). It consists of a large disk against which two figures are leaning.

One of them is Horus as a child, the other Amon. Right and left, and in the interval between the figures is sculptured the sign ☥ *hik*, a *prince*. Behind the disk is its prop; it is not a pillar as in the statues; it grows thinner from the lower part to the top, so that it presents an oblique surface, and has no thickness at the top; its vertical section is a triangle. The figures and the disk are on a circular pedestal bearing ornaments like hieroglyphs: zigzags which are the letter *n* 𓈖, and the 𓊃 *sh*. They are still visible in front, but on the sides they have been cut off, and the surface has been levelled in order to engrave on it the cartouche of Rameses II., followed by the words 𓇋𓂋𓈖𓊪 *Ra of the princes*. The lower surface is concave so as to fit exactly on a convex end, and to be strongly fixed. There can be no doubt that it is older than Rameses II., since this king destroyed part of the inscriptions engraved under the figures. The nature of the monument is obvious; it is the headdress of a gigantic statue of the god Ra. Supposing the headdress to be one-fourth of the whole height, the statue was from 22 to 27 feet high. It was not one of the largest in Egypt; suffice it to mention the colossus of the Ramesseum at Thebes, or the other, traces of which Mr. Petrie discovered at Sân,[5] and which was 92 feet in height. The statue which had this curious ornament was a statue of Ra, as we learn from the inscription, *Ra of the princes*. The prop which is behind the disk, corresponded to the top of the square pillar which is always found behind standing statues. The usual headdress of Ra is a solar disk; on a statue it could not simply be placed on the head as when the god is sculptured on a wall; it was fixed to the skull by means of the circular base which is under the disk, and which has the same purpose as the crown of asps which we see in a statue of Rameses II. wearing the *atef* (pl. xv.).

[5] Petrie, Tanis i. p. 22.

It is not at all extraordinary to find on the disk two figures. Egyptian art did not like extensive level surfaces without any ornament; a disk of such large dimensions and destitute of anything ornamental, would have produced a bad effect, therefore they filled up the blank space with the figures of Horus and Amon, two divinities worshipped in the temple, besides the three signs ☥ which were part of the name of the god. We shall find again the god Ra on the sculptures of Osorkon I. (pl. xxxix. n); there is also a large architrave of early date bearing the words 𓇋𓂋𓏏𓊪𓈖𓂋𓏏𓆑𓏏𓊪, *the adorer of the spirits of On* (*Heliopolis*), which implies the worship of Ra.

It is probable that the statue had a hawk's head; there is no fragment which we may with certainty recognize as having belonged to it, except perhaps a shoulder (pl. xxiii. c), which would have the right proportions. We have here a very rare example of a statue made of several pieces, in which the headdress was not part of the monolith out of which the rest had been carved. It is an exception to what has been found till now. But we have another similar instance in the same temple; the four architectural statues with the name of Rameses II. where the top of the skull has been flattened in order to support the headdress. One of those diadems has been preserved, and is now at the Berlin Museum. In the case of the disk, the weight being considerable, and the statue very high, it would not have been safe to put it merely on a flattened surface of smaller diameter; therefore the lower surface of the headdress has been slightly hollowed out so as to fit exactly on the curve of the skull, while the base of the prop crowned the top of the square pillar behind the statue.

THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY.

Sethi I. restored the constructions of Amenophis II., but he does not seem to have built

anything at Bubastis. On the contrary, his son Rameses II., as he usually did, covered the whole temple with his name. At first sight it looks as if he alone and the Bubastites had to be credited with the foundation of the beautiful sanctuary, which was the object of the admiration of Herodotus. But it is just the reverse; a careful study of each inscribed stone has revealed that all the great architraves which bear his name had been usurped; and that nearly everywhere his inscriptions were engraved on older texts. Sometimes part of the original name has been preserved (pl. xxvi. c), sometimes the old name has disappeared, but all that surrounded the cartouche has remained untouched (pl. xxiv. A); sometimes nothing is left except indistinct traces of older signs which are distinguished only by a very close observation, so that seen from a distance the inscription seems to belong to Rameses II.

His name is found profusely in the three first halls of the temple, the part of the edifice which existed before his time; on the walls, and on separate monuments, such as tablets or statues. On the walls, unlike the architraves, there are sculptures which undoubtedly were made for him, and must be attributed to his reign. He had every facility for engraving all he desired, for the custom of the Pharaohs to cover the walls of the temples with sculptured figures and inscriptions, is of relatively late epoch. I believe that in this respect the kings of the twelfth and the thirteenth dynasties had preserved the tradition of simplicity of the Old Empire. They had inscriptions, and even sculptured figures on the door-posts and lintels, perhaps also on the basements; but we do not find any great sculptures of those kings on the plain surfaces of the walls, as is the case after the eighteenth dynasty, and we have every reason to believe that there were none.

Rameses II. certainly made some alterations in the building; we recognize the fact from the stones which have been displaced, like the block bearing part of the cartouche of Usertesen III., which was in a corner. He may even have been obliged to build up anew a part of the temple. We have shown that there were traces of Khuenaten; it is quite possible that either he or the other heretical kings had more or less damaged it out of hatred towards the god Amon who was worshipped there. Perhaps, also, the temple had been ruined from an earlier date. We must imagine that in those remote ages the character of the country and of the people was not very different from what it is now. How many half-ruined mosques are seen in Cairo or elsewhere, which are still used for worship, and which will go on decaying, until they crumble to pieces, or until a pasha takes a fancy to rebuild them. I believe it was much the same three or four thousand years ago. A Pharaoh ascending the throne, and finding in his empire a number of temples more or less ruined in consequence of wars or religious quarrels, did not betake himself at once to reconstruct them all; he had other occupations, especially if, like the princes of the eighteenth dynasty, he had to defend himself against numerous and formidable enemies. In order to undertake this costly task, it required a time of peace and tranquillity, and a prosperous state. Therefore it necessarily happened that in many localities the sacred buildings remained in the condition in which war or the fury of fanatics had left them. The worship, however, was not given up, it was perhaps restricted to a small part of the temple; and it went on in the same way until an Amenophis, a Rameses, or an Osorkon raised up again the crumbling walls, enlarged the edifice, adorned it with the works of his best artists, and recorded his munificence towards the gods in high-flowing inscriptions. This may be what Rameses II. did for the temple of Bubastis, taking care to avail himself as much as possible of what

had been done by his predecessors, and endeavouring to give himself the credit of their work. He erected a considerable number of statues with his name, the most important of which were the following.

Beginning with those he usurped, I mentioned already one, the head of which is at Sydney (pl. xxv. c), while the base remained on the spot, being too much damaged to be carried away. Near the king was another figure, the foot of which is still visible, and one of the hands holding the headdress. The cartouches of Rameses are on the back, and on the sides of the Nile gods. I attribute this statue to the twelfth dynasty.

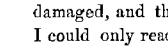
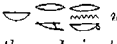
I believe the statue at Geneva (pl. xiv.) to be later, and I classified it in the thirteenth dynasty. A careful examination of the monument shows many traces of the chisel by which older inscriptions were destroyed. The sides of the throne are not so wide as they ought to be; there is an erasure on the back below the words and on the slab under the feet. On the sides are the cartouches of Rameses, and also on the back in the two middle lines. Right and left are the usual formulas, . . . *while lasts the sky, thy monuments are firm, King Rameses,* . . . *while lasts the earth, thy monuments are prosperous, King Rameses.*

An older date must be assigned also to two colossal statues, which were erected on the western side of the festival hall. They are both of red granite, wearing the headdress of Upper Egypt; one of them has eyes hollowed out like the Hyksos. They were usurped after Rameses by Osorkon II. The same may be said of the great Hyksos statues which were described above.

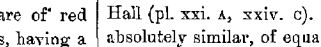
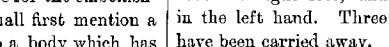
Among the statues which may be attributed to him, a great number are difficult to recognize, because they were broken, and employed by Osorkon II. in the reconstruction of the Festival Hall. Sometimes, before they were used as ordinary building stones, the projecting parts of the statue were more or less obliterated. Sometimes also, the fragments have been walled in as they were; the number of these was so large, that when we turned the blocks of the Festival Hall, especially those with which the southern wall had been built, behind most of the fragments of the sculpture of Osorkon, representing his great festival, we discovered something which had been part of a statue of Rameses II. Frequently it was a group of two or three figures, where the king was sitting between divinities. Several heads discovered in that way have been carried to European museums.

There were a great number of groups where Rameses was associated to one or two gods; some of them were standing, others sitting; though several of them are of natural size, they, generally speaking, are on larger proportions. Rameses was very fond of putting himself among divinities, and of worshipping his own image, to which he presented offerings at the same time as to Phthah or Amon, near whom he was enthroned. Such groups abound in the temples of Lower Egypt; for instance, there were two at Tell el Maskhutah, and a great number in Tanis, where they are more or less ruined. Sitting groups are often placed outside the temples near the entrance, or on the way leading to it. In localities like Pithom, where the enclosure of the temple was made of bricks and had no stone-wall or pylon where inscriptions might be engraved, such groups are invariably placed as substitutes for a representation which never fails in the large stone temples like Karnak, Edfoo, or Denderah, and which is called *the introduction of the king into the temple*. The texts which are engraved on the backs of the groups are quite similar to those of the temples.

There was a group outside of the temple on

the east side near the road leading to the entrance. It was threefold, and consisted of Phthah, the king, and Ra. It is much damaged, and the texts are nearly destroyed. I could only read a few bits of sentences, such as :  *who puts all thy frontiers where thou desirest,*  *creator of thy beauties*, and the like, with the cartouche of Rameses often repeated. On the north side of the temple stood several standing colossal groups, one of them, representing the king with the god Phthah, was near the lateral entrance of the first hall (pl. xix.), the others near the colonnade. Sitting groups of the king and Ra have been broken and inserted in the southern wall.

The statues of the king alone are of red granite ; they are ornamental statues, having a decorative purpose, and made for the embellishment of the structure. I shall first mention a head (pl. xv.), belonging to a body which has disappeared, a head which is now in the museum at Ghizeh. The statue was standing, and held a standard with the left hand. The king wears the headdress called in Egyptian *atef*, and which consists of two plumes supported by a ram's horns. Kings are often seen in religious ceremonies wearing that headdress, for instance, Rameses II. himself, in the sculptures of the first hall (pl. xxxvi. A). It is interesting to compare the way the artist worked in both cases. In a statue he was obliged to avoid all thin and fragile projections. Having to use such hard material as red granite, he could not detach the details of the headdress—he followed in this respect the traditions of Egyptian sculpture in the working of hard stone. Therefore he shortened the horns so that they might not exceed the width of the plumes. Besides, instead of connecting the skull with the headdress through a kind of stem, out of which the horns seem to grow, as we see on the sculptures, he made below the horns a regular crown, fitting exactly to the head, and adorned with asps wearing the solar disk. The composition as a whole is elegant, and the conception of it is well appropriated to the material out of which the statue was carved. Moreover, in order that on both sides the plain surface produced by the thickness of the headdress should not remain void, thus producing a bad effect when the monument was seen in profile, he sculptured on both lateral faces of the headdress a hawk opening his wings, which has a pleasing decorative effect. The features have a type which is quite conventional, without any likeness to the characteristic face of Rameses II.

The same may be said of four great statues, the heads of which we discovered, and which must have adorned the entrance of the Festival Hall (pl. xxi. A, xxiv. C). They were all four absolutely similar, of equal size, of a height of seven to eight feet, and holding a standard in the left hand. Three of those four heads have been carried away. One is in the British Museum, another in Boston, another in Berlin. They are all marked with the name of Rameses II. The bases, which are generally much weathered, have been left on the spot. On the back of one of those statues, I read these two fragments of a sentence, celebrating the high deeds of the king : Rameses . . .  . . . *who makes prisoner the land of Nubia by his strength, who despoils the land of the Shasu, the lord of diadems, Rameses.*  *who annihilates the land of the Thehennu.* These heads are of a kind which is not rare in Upper Egypt. They remind us of the colossus of Tell el Yahoodieh,[6] and of other monuments discovered at Ramleh or Sân. They are remarkable for their thick hair, which is tied by a band on the forehead and on the sides, and the details of which are worked with great

[6] The Mound of the Jew, frontispiece.

care. The top of the head is quite flat, as if something had been placed over it. We might think that they supported some piece of the architecture, but the regular Caryatid, as we find it in Greek art, is unknown in Egypt. It is probable that this flattening of the head was made in order to lay over it the headdress, the *schent*, which did not form one body with the statue, but was a separate piece. One of the headdresses has been found; it had been used as building stone. It is now in the Berlin museum. These statues must have produced an effect similar to the four sitting colossi placed before the temple of Aboo Simbel.

We must not look for portraits in these statues. The faces are flat, broad and short, without any pretensions to picturing the type of Rameses. There is nothing characteristic in the features, they have neither individuality nor expression. The modelling can hardly be said to exist; and in that respect they are the opposite of the Hyksos statues, where it is admirable. The workmanship is far from being perfect, and, especially when they are seen close by, those heads cannot be called masterpieces; it is second-rate art. In truth, rightly to appreciate them, they should be replaced in conditions analogous to those for which they were intended. Let us suppose that the statues are intact, that the heads are at a height of nine or ten feet, seen from below and at a distance, as when they adorned the entrance, and struck the eyes of the people approaching the temple; and we shall understand that those four colossi produced an imposing effect, of such a nature as suited Egyptian taste. In this case, architecture was their chief purpose; and we are likely to misapprehend the conception of the artist, when we scrutinize those statues individually or from too near a standpoint. I consider this ornamental style, in which sculpture was an integrant part of the structure, as being special to the nineteenth dynasty. The successors of Rameses II., and in particular Meronpthah, have preserved it. He liked statues wearing a more or less complicated headdress, and holding a standard. Several such specimens have been found at Sân and elsewhere.

The conclusion to be derived from this review is that among the numerous statues found at Bubastis, inscribed with the name of Rameses II., there is none having his type such as the colossi of Mitrahenny and Luxor, or the statue of Turin, which may be called his image. Nevertheless, if we consider all the broken statues, of which fragments alone remain, we can boldly assert that the temple of Bubastis was one of those containing the greatest number of statues bearing his name.

The religious and historical inscriptions of this king are but few in number, and are in a bad state of preservation. In particular there is no complete tablet of Rameses II., or of any other sovereign. The reason of it is obvious. A tablet is a slab which, generally speaking, is not very heavy, and may be employed for many uses. In a building which was so long a quarry, and which was so unmercifully plundered, the tablets could not be spared, and must have soon disappeared with all the white limestone.

Pl. xxxvi. E reproduces what remains of a great tablet of red granite, discovered near the eastern entrance of the Festival Hall; it was an eulogy of the king, celebrating his high deeds in his wars against his neighbours. l. 1., it is said that *he smote the chiefs of the Retennu with his valiant sword.* The Retennu are the nations of Northern Syria. l. 3., *the Thehennu* are mentioned: *the remembrance of his victories remains among the remote nations, when he trod under his feet all countries, by his valiance and courage.* l. 4. speaks of prisoners brought living to Egypt. l. 5., *of negroes* and *Khetas.* l. 9., he is celebrated as *the valorous bull who knocks down millions of countries.* The nearly complete loss of this tablet is not much to be

regretted; it was a bombastic praise of the king written in stereotyped sentences, and mentioning victories which he may never have gained, and nations against whom it is not certain that he ever had to fight.

An interesting text, as regards history, is the list of prisoners, representing conquered nations, two fragments of which have been left, on blocks of red granite (pl. xvii. and xxxvi. B, D). The sculpture is not very distinct, as the stone is much weathered, but we can recognize that the faces have all a Semitic type with pointed beards; there are no negroes among them, although some of the names engraved in the ovals below refer to Africa. Most of the names are well known, and mean countries of a considerable extent.

and *Keti* and *Naharaïn*, are often quoted together.[7] They are frequently met with in the narratives of the campaigns of the Pharaohs in Asia. According to M. Maspero,[8] *Keti* is Flat Cilicia, and also Rough Cilicia, a province of which was still designated under the Romans by the name of *Κῆτις*. Naharaïn is the country between the Orontes and the Balikh, south and west of the Khetas, on each bank of the Orontes.

Senkher. Whether or not it be the Shinar of Genesis, it was certainly in Mesopotamia, as well as *Keshkesh*, which is mentioned in another text of Rameses II. in conjunction with names of Asia Minor.

the *Mashuash*, are an African population, the *Μάξυες* of Herodotus, who occupied what is now a part of Tunisia.

Atar, written elsewhere, is an African population mentioned after Kusch.[9] Mariette had compared it to the old *Adulis*. Rev. H. G. Tomkins[1] recognizes in the name the region of *Adel*, which extends south of the Gulf of Tajurra.

Concerning these two nations, as well as the *Thehenau*,[2] quoted by the tablet, we have no information about the wars in which Rameses II. may have subdued them; we do not know of any campaign he made in Libya, or on the Upper Nile against the negroes. And, however, if he had made them, and if they had been successful, he would not have failed to relate them repeatedly and in boastful words on the walls of his temples, as he did for his expedition against the Khetas. Such documents warn us to be cautious in dealing with certain official inscriptions which the Pharaohs ordered to be engraved, and which sometimes are our only means for reconstructing their history. When these inscriptions cannot be controlled by documents from neighbouring nations, or by other texts of a different nature, we run the risk of being misled by those official panegyrics. Few kings have dazzled so strongly as Rameses II. the eyes of the first Egyptologists, the pioneers who first entered a field which had remained closed for centuries; there are few also, whose prestige and glory have vanished so rapidly, after their life and character had been studied more closely.

Near the entrance of the temple, on the northern side of the doorway of the first hall, and not far also from the Hyksos statues, was found a fragment of a tablet in black granite, which has been carried to the museum of Ghizeh. It may have served as back-part to a group of figures, for it is very thick, and there are two lines of vertical hieroglyphs on the edge. The text of the tablet itself was horizontal. It must have been erected on the occasion of the dedication of a statue to the goddess Bast, who addresses herself to the king in the second part. It is to be noticed that

[7] Chabas, Voyage, p. 169.
[8] Recueil, x. p. 210.
[9] Leps. Denkm. iii. 145.
[1] Recueil, x. p. 97.
[2] Leps. Denkm. iii. 145, 176.

every time the name of the king is mentioned, it is followed by the predicate *he who possesses Egypt.* This qualification seems to be an integrant part of the name, since it always precedes the usual *giving life*, or *everlasting* (pl. xxxviii. B).

Vertical lines. Rameses, possessor of Egypt, everlasting. Thou art on the throne of Ra; festivals are made to thee as to him.

Rameses, etc. Thou art like Nefertum, thou art beloved like Phthah.

l. 1. . . . Rameses, possessor of Egypt, everlasting.

l. 2. . . . to be the lord of the foreigners, priest of Bast, born of Sekhet.

l. 3. . . . possessor of Egypt, everlasting, nursed by Uoti, suckled by Sati, thou hast chosen the city of Bast, their protection is over it.

l. 4. . . . of Egypt, like Nefertum. His mother, the daughter of Ra, sends life, stability, and purity, into his nostrils; the inhabitants,

l. 5. . . . joining his limbs, the King Rameses, possessor of Egypt, everlasting.

l. 6. . . . well made monuments in front of her; she appears, and is well pleased in all her festivals, magnifying what he has done, for ever.

l. 7. . . . Rameses, etc. I take the timbrel, and I rejoice at thy coming forth, for thou hast multiplied my sacred things millions of times.

l. 8. . . . in order to enrich my altar every day, my terrace abounds daily with all the sweet flowers placed before me.

l. 9. . . . eternally like Ra. I am on thy head, King Rameses, possessor of Egypt, everlasting.

l. 10. . . . residing in its interior, with her son; the gods who are accompanying her are in great joy.

This tablet is important in several respects, and especially because of the information we derive from it about the gods of Bast.

All around the first hall ran a basement bearing geographical inscriptions, a list of nomes, of which very little is left. It consists of standing figures bringing an offering of two vases, between which is the sign ; before each figure are two columns of texts containing promises made to the king. The emblems of the nomes have disappeared, except , the nome of Libya, which ranks third in the Ptolemaic lists, and eleventh in the much older lists of Abydos of the time of Seti I.[3] The nome of Libya was one of the most anciently organized, long before the Bubastite, the name of which does not occur anywhere in the inscriptions of that epoch. The sentences which accompany the figures are hackneyed promises made to the king (pl. xxxvii.).

". . . I send thee all kinds of victories, for thy sword, I overthrow for thee the strangers.

. . . I give thee the lands of the sea, thou art established as lord of the land, like Ra.

. . . I bring them to thy house.

. . . I give thee the festivals of thirty years of Tonen; the land abounds in all kinds of goods.

. . . all royalty, the territories of the Ionians.

. . . I give thee all the lands of thy enemies.

. . . my prisoners; I overthrow for thee the strangers."

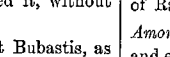
On the basement was also a sculpture, which has some likeness with the list of nomes (pl. xxxvii. J). We see there a Nile god holding a kind of table of offerings, over which is the sign which means *to join*. Behind the god is the goddess of the east, and opposite, there must have been another Nile god, a hand of whom only is seen. No cartouche indicates to what date the sculpture must be assigned. I am inclined to think that it is a remnant of the twelfth dynasty. It is not unlike a table of

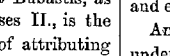
[3] Ducm. Geog. Inschr. i. pl. 91, l. 11.

offerings discovered by M. Petrie at Nebesheh,[4] and which belongs to that dynasty.

There are other representations in which Rameses II. is shown making offerings to various divinities. In reference to those representations we must observe that Rameses is never found worshipping Bast, nor does the name of the goddess appear on the architraves where usually it is said to whom the temple had been dedicated. It is the same with Bubastis as with Tanis. It was dedicated to the great gods of Egypt. Those who occur most frequently are Amon, Phthah, and the Hyksos god, Set. The last one seems to have been the object of a special reverence from Rameses, who gave him the most honourable place in the temples of the Delta. It is he whose representations are most numerous. He is found on the columns with palm-leaf capitals, especially on the specimen of the British Museum; he is on large architraves (pl. xxii. c), and on scenes of worship (pl. xx.). We shall see further that when the Bubastites changed the dedication of the temple, they erased in many places the name of Set, or they transformed it, without destroying it completely.

A peculiarity which occurs at Bubastis, as well as in other edifices of Rameses II., is the habit which he had contracted of attributing to himself a special claim to the protection of the gods, in coupling his name with theirs. Set becomes *Set or Sutekh of Rameses*, and the same with Amon and Phthah (pl. xxxvi. c, g). Set of Rameses is found on a vertical inscription, where the head of the god has been slightly hammered out (pl. xx., xxxvi. i).

On the column of the British Museum also we see *Sutekh of Rameses;* there the lower part of the cartouche has been usurped by Osorkon II. The same habit may be observed in the temple of Tanis.[5] The son of Rameses, who was a fervent adorer of Set, remained faithful to the tradition of his father; in his time Set is styled *Set of Merenphthah.*[6] *Phthah of Rameses* is met with at Bubastis. This divinity had a large share in the worship celebrated in the temple; he is often represented, and there were statues of him[7] (pl. xix.). It is quite possible that it was on certain personifications only of the divinity, that Rameses II. claimed a kind of right of property or possession, for the same god may be quoted in the same inscription with his general and his particular form. For instance, at the beginning of the treaty with the Kheta, it is said that the king was in the city of Rameses, making offerings "*to his father Amon-Ra, to Harmakhis, to Tum, the lord of the two On, to Amon of Rameses, to Phthah of Rameses, and to Set the very brave, the son of Nut.*" We have not found Amon of Rameses at Bubastis, but it is probable that his name stood there also. Amon, as we saw before, was the god to whom Amenophis II. had dedicated his constructions; large blocks coming from architraves bear after the name of Rameses the words  *who worships Amon-Ra.* It is the same for Merenphthah, and even Osorkon I.

Another god whose mention is frequent under Rameses II. and afterwards, is Shu, the son of Ra. On a doorpost of the second hall we read: *Rameses*  *who worships Shu, the son of Ra, the great god, the lord of the sky.* Merenphthah, who in these respects seems to have followed entirely the line of his father, was also a worshipper of Shu (pl. xxxvi. k).

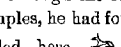
Three of the sons of Rameses have left their names at Bubastis. It is probable there were still more, for fragments of statues of "*royal sons of Kush*" (pl. xxxvi. k) must have belonged to

[4] Petrie, Tanis ii., Nebesheh, pl. ix.

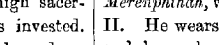
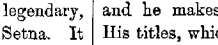
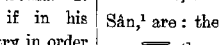
[5] Ibid. Tanis i., pl. iv. 25A.

[6] Petrie, l.l. pl. ii. 5A.

[7] See pl. xxxviii. F., the inscription of a broken statue of Phthah.

members of his family. The first is the celebrated *Khaemuas*, who inscribed his name on the side of a colossal statue in red granite of his father; the signs which followed his name have disappeared (pl. xxxvi. M). This prince is famous for the religious offices which were conferred upon him, for the great festivals in the celebration of which he took part, for the high sacerdotal dignities with which he was invested. His name, like that of a saint, became legendary, since we find it in the romance of Setna. It would have been extraordinary, if in his frequent journeys through the country in order to inspect the temples, he had forgotten Bubastis. He is called here  *the priest herseshta in the holy field*. This last word is the usual name of the country around Bubastis, until the Ptolemies made a separate nome of it. The sacerdotal title, which probably was that of the high-priest, was given also to the goddess herself, who is styled in the inscriptions of Osorkon I. and later, *the herseshta of Tum* (pl. xli. E.).

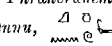
The two others are military officers. One of them is known, thanks to a crouching statue now in the museum of Boston. It has been usurped, for it had in front an inscription for which that of the prince has been substituted, and on the side is another which has simply been scraped off without anything else being engraved instead. The head has been diminished on one side in order to sculpture the lock of hair which is one of the distinctive marks of the princes of royal blood.

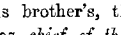
The cartouche of Rameses II. on his shoulder leaves no doubt as to his father; otherwise we might have taken him for the son of Rameses III., who had the same name, and who died when he was heir presumptive.[2] He is called *Menthuhershepshef* (pl. xxxviii. C, C', C''), which means, *Menthu wields his sword*. His titles are: *the first cavalry officer of his father, who looks after the horses of the king*, meaning also the war chariots, for the word used here for horses applies generally to horses drawing the chariots. Menthuhershepshef was the fifth son of Rameses II. Another whom we see in several sculptured representations (pl. xxxvi. K, L), is *Merenphthah*, who became king after Rameses II. He wears also the lock of the royal princes, and he makes offerings to Amon and Shu. His titles, which are found also on a statue at Sân,[1] are: the *prince* *the protector of Egypt*,  *the royal officer, the lord of the seal*,  *the first general, Merenphthah*,  . It is curious to find after his name the qualification of *justified*, which is usually applied to the deceased, but it is seen also after the name of Rameses in the royal list of Abydos, where Seti I. is followed by his son.

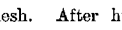
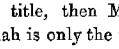
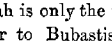
Comparing the titles of these princes with the inscriptions concerning them which were known before, and especially with the lists of the sons of Rameses II. at the Ramesseum at Thebes or at Sebua, we can elucidate a few facts concerning the history of the family. When the inscription in the Ramesseum was engraved, it was long before the monuments of Bubastis were dedicated. At that time the family was complete, the eldest sons of Rameses were still living. The first-born and heir presumptive was *Amonhershepshef, Amon wields his sword*, a name easily to be accounted for after the successes which Rameses had obtained in his wars against the Kheta, the credit of which he desired to give to the god. This name was a favourite with the Ramessides; it was given in succession to two of the sons of Rameses III., who became Rameses V. and Rameses VI. The heir presumptive was *plume-bearer at the right hand of*

[1] Petrie, Tanis i. pl. i. 4A. [2] Brugsch, Dict. suppl. p. 829.

[2] Zeitschr. 1885, pp. 55 and 125.

the king, which was a common title; the distinctions which were special to him were *prince*, or *first general of the infantry*. The second son of Rameses was only *general of infantry*, but not . The third,  *Phraherunemef, Ra on his right*, was *first Kennu*, *of the infantry*. The *Kennu* must have been something like a colonel, a rank which was evidently lower than his brother's, though at the same time he was *chief of the chariots* and *first cavalry officer of His Majesty*. As such he accompanied his father in his expedition against Kadesh. After him came Khaemuas, who begins the series of the sons who have no special title, then Menthuhershepshef. Merenphthah is only the thirteenth.

Let us now go over to Bubastis, and we shall find that great changes have taken place in the family. *Khaemuas*, the fourth son, has become a priest, and performs the religious and sacerdotal functions which have given him his celebrity. The third son, *Phraherunemef*, is dead; perhaps he was killed in battle, and he has been replaced in his rank and his command, not by the fourth son, Khaemuas, who is a priest, but by *Menthuhershepshef*, the fifth, whose statue we discovered at Bubastis. The next changes may be traced in the tablets of Silsilis.[3] *Amonhershepshef*, the heir presumptive, is dead, as well as the new chief of the cavalry; but the second son of Rameses is still alive as well as *Khaemuas*, who is seen standing between his elder brother *Rameses* and the younger,  *Merenphthah*. The family of Rameses is already much thinned in number, and the inscription of Silsilis must be assigned to a late epoch of his reign. Later still, evidently quite at the end, we come to the inscriptions of Bubastis. *Merenphthah* has the titles of the heir presumptive; he is *prince*, and *first general of the infantry*, but he is not because he is not the first born, he is also *protector of the land*, a very high title, since it is given to Amon,[4] and *lord of the seal, lord chancellor*. These two last titles might indicate that he had been associated with the throne,[5] which is the more probable, since having reigned nearly sixty years, Rameses must have been much weakened and incapable of going to war.

The statue of Menthuhershepshef is dedicated to *Bast*, called also  *Uoti*, the goddess of Bubastis. The geographical name *Bast* was used at this time, but it may have applied only to the part of the sanctuary specially dedicated to the goddess, for it is certain that though Bast was worshipped in the temple as early as the twelfth dynasty, she was not the chief divinity of the place under the eighteenth dynasty, nor under the Ramessides, who were adorers of the great gods of Egypt, Amon, Phthah, and Set. Here also we find the name  *the holy field*, for the territory of Bubastis, and also a city which undoubtedly must be read  the present city of Belbeis.[6] This city, as well as Bubastis and its territory, belonged at that time to the nome of Heliopolis. Later, I think under the Ptolemies, when the Bubastite nome was organized, Belbeis was annexed to it; one of the forms of Bast, Sekhet , had a temple there under the thirtieth dynasty.[7]

I attribute also to Rameses II. the statue of Phthah, mentioned above (pl. xxxviii. F), which gives us the usual titles of the god; besides two broken statues of royal sons of Kush, in the

[3] Leps. Denkm. iii. 174.

[4] Leps. Denkm. iii. 6.

[5] Wiedemann, Aeg. Gesch. p. 440.

[6] Brugsch, Dict. Géog. pp. 264 and 546.

[7] Naville, The Mound of the Jew, p. 22.

traditional costume, the long dress reaching down to the feet. One of these statues, in a fair state of preservation, has been carried to America; it has on the back the following titles: (pl. xxxvi. N) *the royal son of Kush, the chief of the southern countries, the governor* . . . (the proper name has disappeared). The other, which is only a fragment, contains a dedication to *Bast, the lady of Bast* (*Bubastis*), *the queen of the gods*. Both statues were in black granite. They close the list of the monuments of some importance, or of the inscriptions of Rameses II., to which must be added a considerable number of cartouches left in spite of the usurpations of Osorkon II.

Not far from Bubastis was settled a foreign nation, the Israelites, who from a small tribe had grown to be a large multitude, and who had never amalgamated with the Egyptians. As I stated in another memoir, the land of Goshen was only a few miles distant; the restricted limits of the original land had been broken through, and the Israelites must have spread in the south towards Heliopolis, and in the east in the Wadi Tumilât, the road through which foreign invaders would enter Egypt. One may well conceive that Rameses, who in spite of his great display, must have felt how much his kingdom was weakened, grew anxious at the presence of a great number of strangers occupying the very gate of Egypt, and that he desired to turn their presence to a benefit for Egypt. Therefore he employed them to build fortresses, Raamses and Pithom, destined to protect the land against invaders. As we may conclude from the discoveries at Bubastis that this large city was a favourite resort of Rameses and his family, it is quite possible that at the time when the events preceding the Exodus took place, the king was at Bubastis, and not at Tanis, as was generally admitted.

We have found Merenphthah as prince royal and heir presumptive, holding an important military command. He appeared also as king, on a sitting statue in red limestone, of which fragments only remain. They were discovered on the north side, close to the entrance to the hall of Nekhthorheb. Very little of the monument has been left, because red limestone has been broken and carried away for building purposes as much as the white. The statue has on the side the name of Tum, the god of Heliopolis (pl. xxxviii. D). I should think that Set was in the inscription on the back.

On the throne we find also the name of *the prince, the royal officer, Seti Merenphthah*. This prince, who is called elsewhere *royal son*, and *first-born*,[3] ascended the throne, where he does not seem to have remained long. He is the king usually called Seti II.

THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY.

It is in the hypostyle hall, near the entrance of the hall of Nekhthorheb, that we meet with all the monuments of this dynasty. It seems that these kings raised there a chapel or a sanctuary for themselves. Nothing remains of the kings who followed Seti II., and whose legitimacy is doubtful. The state of anarchy into which the country had fallen, and which is described by Rameses III. in the great Harris papyrus, was not favourable to raising large constructions, and must have rather contributed to destroy what existed before. The first king we meet with is Rameses III., on the base of a small statue of which the feet alone have been preserved; they are most elaborately worked, they have sandals with the end turned upwards according to the fashion of the nineteenth dynasty. The monument must have been of very good workmanship. Part of the inscription is left on the back and on the base

[3] Leps. Koenigsbuch, No. 476. Brugsch et Bouriant, Le livre des Rois, No. 499.

(pl. xxxviii. c); it shows that the monument was dedicated to *Bast of the city of Bast*.

Rameses III. raised many monuments in the Delta, which was the theatre of his great wars; but we had not yet discovered north of Memphis one of his successors who was also his son, and who seems to have been the most powerful of the series of the Ramessides, after Rameses III., his father. No. VI. has been given him in the list of the Rameses; his prenomen was, like his elder brother, *Amonher-shepshef*. We found three statues of this king.

1. A base of a sitting statue, in black granite, of natural size, broken at the waist; the upper part is lost (pl. xxv. A). It wears a long dress, and on the sides, as well as on the slab under the feet, are the names of Rameses VI. (pl. xxxviii. 11′). As the engraving is not deep, it may be usurpation. The monument has been left at Tell Basta.

2. Another statue, much smaller, in red limestone, of which also the base alone remains, has the names of Rameses VI. (pl. xxxviii. H-H″). It is now in the museum of Ghizeh.[2]

3. The largest and most important is the upper part of a statue in red granite, now at the museum of Ghizeh (pl. xvi.). It is above natural size, standing, and wearing the double crown. On the back is an inscription, of which we have only the upper half (pl. xxxviii. K), *the good god raised statues to his father Amon, who puts him on his throne; the lord of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ra hik Ma* . . . I am inclined to think that this statue is really the portrait of Rameses VI. The type is different from Rameses II., the workmanship alone is the same. The head has not the commonplace and indifferent character of the statues made for an architectural purpose. It is intended to be a likeness. The nose is aquiline, and wide at the end. The eyes are prominent, and the lips rather thick.

[2] It is the inscribed block which is seen on the left side of pl. vi.

A short time before beginning the excavations at Bubastis, I had procured at Benha, from a fellah, a slab coming from a tomb, and bearing also the name of Rameses VI. Thus there are two places in the Delta where we found this king.

THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY.

The twenty-first dynasty, which has been the object of so much discussion, has left no trace at Bubastis. In particular, I did not find the name of the King *Si Amen*, whose cartouche is frequent at Tanis, and who was discovered at Khataanah.[1] Therefore we pass without transition from the twentieth to the twenty-second, which, according to Manetho, is pre-eminently the dynasty of the Bubastites.

Dr. Stern has proved that the Bubastites are of Libyan origin, and not Asiatics, as it has been admitted for a long time. They were the hereditary commanders of a foreign guard, one of whom, *Sheshonk*, the *Shishak* of the Bible, succeeded in taking possession of the throne, and legitimated afterwards his usurpation by giving the daughter of his predecessor in marriage to his own son. Sheshonk was the founder of the dynasty; he was a warlike sovereign, and made against Rehoboam, King of Judah, a successful expedition, which he described in an inscription of the great temple of Amon at Thebes, in the part called "the portico of the Bubastites." Bubastis being called his native city, we should have expected that he would have felt bound to adorn and embellish its temple, and to record on its walls his victories. It is just the reverse; no inscription of Shishak has been found except a small fragment of limestone with part of his cartouches. It is

quite possible that when Sheshonk ascended the throne, he, who was of foreign origin and a native of Lower Egypt, found some resistance at

[1] Goshen, p. 21.

Thebes and in the upper part of the country, and that it was in order to establish firmly his dominion over Upper Egypt that he raised there the greater number of his monuments.

With Osorkon I. we return to the sculptures of large proportions, to the great representations accompanying important constructions (pl. xxxix.). It is chiefly in the first hall that they are met with in great number; they adorned the outward walls, and many fragments of them have been preserved. It is impossible not to be struck at first sight by the beauty of the workmanship (pl. xviii.), which may be observed in the specimens brought to the European museums. The good traditions are not yet lost; it may even be said that more care has been taken with those sculptures than with many works of Rameses II., made rapidly and with negligence. The reason of it is that under the Bubastites the centre of political life tends more and more to go over to the Delta; Thebes is abandoned to the high priests of Amon, while the King lives in Lower Egypt, probably because of the wars with which he was constantly threatened by the Asiatics or the Libyans. Judging from what Osorkon I. and Osorkon II. made at Bubastis, which is not seen in any other edifice of Egypt, I am inclined to think that this city was their capital and their customary residence.

The sculptures of Osorkon I. are chiefly in the first hall; but several of his inscriptions are engraved underneath the Hathor capitals, in places where they could not be seen, and where it was not possible to engrave them unless the monument was lying on the ground and had not yet been raised. It is exactly as with the cartouches of Rameses II., which are under the obelisks, on the surface touching the ground. This circumstance leads us to imagine in what state the temple of Bubastis must have been at the time of Osorkon's accession to the throne. We cannot attribute to him the Hathor capitals; we have seen before, that, although there is no positive proof, we must assign them to the twelfth dynasty, to Usertesen III., who enlarged the temple and built the hypostyle hall. On the other hand, we cannot admit that Osorkon I. displaced the capitals in order to inscribe his name underneath. We are thus led to conclude that in his time the temple was ruined, and the pillars and columns had been overthrown. It was not the hypostyle hall alone which had been so badly treated; it was the same with the two first halls; for we see there that a block which, under Rameses II., was part of the basement and bore the lower part of a sculpture, was placed under Osorkon I. in the second or third layer of blocks, and was engraved with the heads of large figures which adorned the outward wall. The second hall, which was reconstructed later by Osorkon II., was in a similar condition, for I cannot admit that it was deliberately that the king cut to pieces or broke the statues of Rameses II. which he employed for building his walls.

We are in doubt as to the epoch when those devastations took place; it is not probable that they were caused by a natural accident, such as an earthquake; they were the result of a war or an invasion. If we adopt this last alternative, they must be attributed to the wars which preceded the reign of Rameses III., when a Syrian called *Arisu* usurped the power and tyrannized over the country, persecuting gods and men, until, as is related by Rameses III., *Setnekht* ascended the throne and re-established the worship and the legitimate dynasty. It is certain that Osorkon I. reconstructed the temple, beginning with the eastern hall, where most of his sculptures have been found. With the rebuilding coincides the change in the dedication, which was not completed under Osorkon I., but which was definitive after Osorkon II. Bast, who had only a secondary rank under the twelfth dynasty or Rameses II.; to whom statues or tablets were dedicated, but who was not yet the great

goddess of Bubastis, takes precedence over the other divinities of Egypt, and especially over Set. Amon and other Egyptian gods may be seen on the walls of the first hall, but Bast occurs more frequently, and has taken a place like Horus at Edfoo or Hathor at Denderah.

The sculptured representations of Osorkon I. have the same appearance as those made under the nineteenth dynasty. With the figures are sentences always the same. The gods mentioned may belong to other parts of Egypt, but they are spoken of as residing in Bubastis; thus we have *Amon of Thebes, the lord of the sky, who resides at Bast* (pl. xl. D); the same with Mut, Harmakhis, Phthah Anebresef, the lord of Ankhtoui (Memphis), Tum, the lord of Heliopolis, Shu, the son of Ra, and Menthu. The promises made by the gods consist in a long and successful reign, long life, strength and health, and other stereotyped sentences. The blocks of the ceiling mention also Sopt, the divinity of the nome of Arabia, which at that time was part of the nome of Heliopolis.

Bast, the great divinity of the city, which derives its name from the goddess, is accompanied by the gods of her cycle or her triad. She has also the name of *Sekhet*, she is said to be *the queen of the gods, the lady of Bubastis*. Her son, according to the form he assumes, is called either *Horhiken*, or *Nefertum*, or *Mahès*. Bast herself is considered as the *herseshta, the priestess of Tum*. She has the same title as Khaemuas, the son of Rameses II.

The intention of Osorkon I. to consecrate the temple to Bast, and thus to change its original dedication, is best shown by the three inscriptions which are engraved underneath the Hathor capitals (pl. xli. A, B, C). There Osorkon comes forward as the worshipper of Bast, *the lady of Bubastis, who protects her father Ra;* the formulas are those usually employed for the dedication of a statue, an obelisk, or the hall of a temple. It was to the goddess that he wished to make an offering when he raised up again the magnificent building, the foundation and first construction of which went up to a very early date.

Another work of Osorkon I. was the small temple which will be described further. The inscriptions relating the gifts which he made to the various temples of Egypt, the quantities of precious metals with which he presented the gods, show that in his reign the country must have been much more prosperous and rich than was generally supposed.

Osorkon II. was the son of Takelothis I., an obscure king of whom we know only the name. He took for his model Rameses II., and he seems to have been actuated by a strong desire, not only to imitate his predecessor as fully as he could, but also to throw into the shade, if possible, his memory. His name is found as often as that of his pattern. In order that the imitation should be complete he adopted the same standard, *the mighty bull, the friend of Ma*, and his two cartouches were as similar as possible to those of Rameses II., making the usurpation very easy. If the name and titles of Rameses II. had to be transformed into those of Osorkon, the transformation was very simple. The standard was the same. In the first cartouche, instead of *sotep en Ra, the elect of Ra*, the scribe had to write *sotep en Amen, the elect of Amen*. It was made in this way. Under the sign *user*, there was room for the letter the first of the name of Amen, the disk was made into a rectangle, over which were added small strokes so as to make the sign *men*. Nowhere can the whole process be followed as well as on the column of the British Museum. On the base of the Hyksos statue which is at the museum of Ghizeh, the disk is quite distinct under the sign , even on the photograph (pl. xxiv. D).

As for the second cartouche of Rameses, where it is written in the usual form, the sign *Ra*, the first syllable being opposite Amon, and

the sign 𓇳 *mer*, under both gods, the usurpation was made as follows: all the signs underneath the group just described were erased, and the name of Osorkon substituted for them.

In the sign 𓇋 *Ra*, the head was made into a lion, so as to give the figure the appearance of a sitting Bast, and the disk above widened and made oval so as to look like an egg, which reads *si*, and means *son;* so the sign which was originally Ra became *si Bast, the son of Bast*, a predicate which is part of the cartouche of Osorkon. This kind of usurpation occurs very often at Bubastis. All the degrees of it are seen on the column of the British Museum. It is obvious that this work was not done conscientiously; it is often very imperfect. Sometimes the second cartouche only has been transformed, or in this second cartouche the lower part has been erased without the name of Osorkon being substituted, or the name of Osorkon has been engraved, but the engraver forgot to change the sign Ra at the top of the cartouche, so that the first syllable of Rameses has been left, and the like.

The usurpations of Osorkon are found in the whole temple, but chiefly in the hypostyle hall. There his name is met with profusely, on architraves, on capitals; but in most cases it is easy to recognize that his is not the original name; it has been substituted for that of Rameses II., who was not himself the founder of the building, as may be seen on the column of the British Museum.

The most important event to be noticed in the history of the temple during Osorkon II.'s reign is the final establishment of the worship of Bast as the prevailing worship in the locality. In this respect the Osorkons justify their name of Bubastites, which is given them by Manetho. Henceforth the name of the goddess occurs in large characters, not on statues or tablets only, but on the architraves of the hypostyle hall. The king evidently desired to expunge the name of Set; he ordered it to be hammered out; but, as with the cartouches of Rameses II., the work was done only in a very imperfect way. On the top of the columns, Set was represented sitting with the sign of life ☥ and a sceptre in his hands; in many places the head has been widened so as to become a lion; the headdress also has been modified, and the whole figure has been turned into the god *Mahes*,[2] the son of Bast, who, being a warlike divinity, could endorse the epithets which originally followed the name of Set, *the very valorous, the lord of the sky* (pl. xlii. E, F, G). The alteration is plain on several of the columns, especially on one of them which was carried near the canal more than fifty years ago, and which has since remained on the spot where it is getting buried more and more every day. It is visible also on the inscription of *Set of Rameses*, where, however, Set is still traceable (pl. xx.). Sometimes, as on the column of the British Museum, Set has been forgotten.

A great number of the sculptures of Osorkon II. in the temple have come down to us, but apart from those which adorned the Festival Hall or the colonnade, we find them on a building situate outside of the temple, on the north, and which probably was a doorway or portico (pl. xli. E—H); it was the beginning of a road paved in basalt which led to the temple. Four columns are all that is left of this construction; two of them are palm-columns, and two with lotus-bud capitals. One of these last, which is in a good state of preservation, has been sent to the Louvre. Thus we find there the same two styles as in the colonnade of the temple. It is not possible to assign even an approximate date to that building, which may have been an imitation made in later times of the hypostyle hall. On one of the columns Osorkon is men-

[2] The reading *Mahes* is fixed by the inscriptions of the naos of Saft-el-Henneh. Nav. Goshen, pl. ii. 6, pl. vii. 5. Brugsch, Dict. suppl. p. 526.

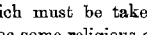
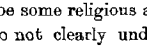
tioned as a worshipper of Mahes. Besides the columns, there must have stood there a construction of some importance, for close by lies a corner-block bearing the top of a sculpture of natural size and of very good workmanship. On one of the sides is seen Osorkon offering the holy eye, the *ut'a*, to Bast, who answers that she gives him *all lands of which she multiplies the number, and all gallantry as to Ra* (pl. xli. E). The goddess is called here *the priestess herseshta of Tum*. On the other side, the son of Bast, *Horhiken*, is represented giving life to Osorkon (pl. xli. H).

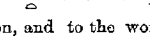
We saw before that, according to all probabilities, when Osorkon I. ascended the throne, the temple was more or less ruined. He set to work rebuilding it, but he did not finish the construction, which was continued and completed by Osorkon II., who raised in particular the part of the edifice to which he chiefly attached his name, the second hall, or, as he called it, *the Festival Hall*. It was not a new addition to the temple; it had existed long before Osorkon. *Its* date goes back to the Old Empire; there we found the cartouches of Pepi and most of those of the twelfth dynasty. It may be the oldest part of the temple. Later on, Rameses II. had stored there a great number of his statues, as well those which were made for him as those he usurped. I stated above the reasons which led me to think that it was during the wars which preceded the reign of Rameses III. that the temple was partially pulled down, *for I* cannot believe that Osorkon II. intentionally caused the destruction, which is testified by the manner in which the walls of his hall have been built. If he wished to supersede Rameses, it was quite sufficient to usurp his name, as he had done in many cases. Why should he have broken the large statues, the plain surfaces of which, such as the base under the feet, were employed for engraving the sculptures of his festival? Can we imagine that, in order to procure more easily the necessary material for building his walls, he voluntarily cut to pieces groups of two or three divinities, fragments of which were inserted into the structure. It is more probable that he found the temple already in a pitiable condition, and that he made use only of what was ruined, respecting what had escaped intact, such as the four architectural statues of Rameses II., though they were of red granite, the material he employed; or the statues in black granite, such as that of Sydney or that of Geneva.

The reconstruction of this hall took place on the occasion of an event which he considered as the most important of his reign, a great festival which was described at great length on the walls of the hall. Although one half, or even one-third only, of the sculptures have been preserved, it is sufficient to give an idea of the whole. The festival will be the object of a special volume; at present we shall speak of it only from a historical point of view, mentioning the facts which we gather from the inscriptions, and keeping for another work the religious part, as well as the publication of the sculptures.

A small rectangular block with four lines of text gives us the date of the festival (pl. xlii. B). "Year 22, on the first day of Choiak, the" "coming forth of Amon out of the sanctuary," "which is in the Festival Hall, resting on his" "litter; the beginning of the consecrating of" "the two lands by the king, of the consecrat-" "ing of the harem of Amon, and of the conse-" "crating of all the women who are in his city," "and who act as priestesses since the days" "of the fathers."

These lines are obscure in the details; however, the general sense is clear. In the year 22, on the first day of the month called *Choiak*, took place *the apparition* or *the coming forth* ☐ of Amon. The word ☐ to *appear*, or to *come forth*, is usually applied to the great festivals in which the sacred emblem was taken out of the sanctuary and put in an ark, which was carried round the temple on the shoulders of the

priests. I translated literally the words which has several meanings: is sometimes *to receive*, or taken as equivalent to *to begin*.  may mean *to sanctify*, or *to protect the two lands*. It is obvious that in thus translating literally each word by itself, we deviate from the true sense of the expression, which must be taken as a whole.  must be some religious act, the nature of which we do not clearly understand, or if not the act itself, it is something connected with it, such as an offering. It is the same with the word which is applied to the harem of Amon, and to the women who are said to be priestesses of the Gods *since the days of the fathers*.

According to this inscription, the most dignified functions in the festival devolved on women. The king, however, plays a most important part in it, he seems even to be the object of a kind of deification, since the first act, mentioned immediately after the four lines of the date, is: "*the carrying of the king on a litter*." The celebration of this great festival reminds us of the famous assembly at Bubastis,[3] described by Herodotus, which according to the Greek writer took place every year. It is possible that both coincided; however, in the year 22 of Osorkon there must have been a special solemnity. Perhaps Osorkon II. wished to imitate Rameses II. and Rameses III., who had both of them celebrated during their reign a memorable festival, the description of which was engraved on temples, and which may have recalled either some astronomical phenomenon or an important date in the calendar. Whatever may have been its purpose, we see from the last line that Osorkon followed an old tradition, which went back to the time "of the fathers." A circumstance which indicates that Osorkon intended to comply with an old custom, is that the festival is celebrated in honour of Amon, although the king himself had established the worship of Bast in the temple, and given the pre-eminence to the goddess. She has not been forgotten, since in every one of the panels into which the sculpture is divided, she is seen standing before the king. Besides, a figure with a lion's head is one of the most frequent forms of the consort of Amon, Mut, in whose temple at Thebes there was a collection of statues with lions' heads exactly similar to those of Bast. Nevertheless, it is Amon, *the lord of the throne of the two lands*,  viz., with his qualifications such as they are met with at Thebes, who is the object of the festival, showing that the tradition connected it with the great Theban kings.

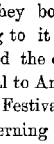
It is possible that under Osorkon II. Thebes was more and more relinquished, and that Bubastis assumed the rank which had been held before by the city of the Amenophis and the Ramessides. The political influence of the city had been thrown into the background by its religious importance. Thebes was the residence of the high priests of Amon, who enjoyed a certain independence, but the centre of gravity of the Empire was removed to the Delta. Osorkon had to make war against the Asiatics. In the inscription of the festival it is said that *all countries, the Upper and Lower Retennu have been thrown under his feet*. Without giving too much importance to those official formulas, we may infer from the special mention of the Retennu, the Syrians, that he made a campaign against Syria and Palestine; this would confirm the opinion of several authors that Osorkon II. was the king called by Scripture *Zerah*, זֶרַח, *Zapé*,[4] against whom Asa fought a battle, which ended in the complete defeat of the invader. But the identification is far from being proved; we should not understand, for instance, why Osorkon would be called *Zerah the Ethiopian*.

[3] Her. ii. 60.

[4] 2 Chron. xiv. 8.

82943

Osorkon II. has left monuments in other parts of the Delta. Apart from usurpations of statues and pylons at Tanis, he built at Pithom,[5] where I found cornices with his name painted in red, indicating that the construction had not been completed, and also the statue of one of his chief officers, *the controller, Aukhrenpnefer*, which is now in the British Museum. But his capital was Bubastis. The two Osorkons may be called pre-eminently the Bubastites; they both deserve this name, in regard to what they did for the temple, which they both reconstructed, one of them adding to it the small temple with its treasury, and the other celebrating there the great festival to Amon.

In the inscriptions of the Festival Hall we found some information concerning the family of the king. His queen was called *Karoama*. She was his legitimate wife, and she is frequently seen accompanying the king in the ceremonies of the festival. Her cartouche always appears in this form:  The inscriptions of Thebes give us the names of two other wives of Osorkon II., one of whom was the mother of a high priest of Amon. This fact corroborates Professor Maspero's opinion, who suggests that "the Bubastite kings, like the Saïtes, may have had one or several Theban wives, spending at Thebes the greater part of their life, the possession of whom secured to the king a rightful authority over Thebes, and whose male heirs were destined eventually to be invested with the dignity of high priests."[6] Karoama was probably Theban, and may have been buried there; but in the inscriptions of Bubastis she bears no title similar to those of the queen-priestesses, of whom, however, she may have been one. At Bubastis she is merely styled *the royal wife*. Her daughters have nothing connecting them with the Theban worship of Amon, in which the life of Thebes seems to have centred under the twenty-first and the twenty-second dynasty, nor with the sacerdotal hierarchy which was then the government of Thebes. That does not mean that at Thebes they did not belong to the hierarchy of the priests, for Bubastis was far distant from the city of Amon, and its chief divinity was Bast.

the royal wife Karoama (pl. xlii. A)

In the very difficult reconstruction of the twenty-first dynasty, that of the king-priests, we must not be astonished if the same man bears names, titles, or even cartouches which at first sight seem very different. According as the inscriptions mentioning them have been found at Thebes or at Tanis, or at any other place, the dignities connected with the worship of Amon may be stated in full, or they may be totally deficient; the first cartouche may be the indication of a religious office, or it may be a regular coronation name, there may be two cartouches or only one. The great majority of the inscriptions concerning the king-priests having been found at Thebes, we have been led to give an exaggerated importance to all that refers to them. In their time, the Delta, not Thebes, is the fountain-head of Egyptian political history.

A block, which was part of the inscriptions of the Festival Hall, has preserved the names of three of the daughters of Osorkon, who are seen marching in procession behind their mother (pl. xlii. c). The eldest was called *the beginner, the first born, ta Shakheper;* the second was named like her mother *Karoama;* as for the third, it is possible that a sign is lost at the beginning of the name, it reads now *Armer*.

THE CEMETERY OF CATS.

The Osorkons made Bubastis the sanctuary of Bast, the temple being dedicated to the goddess. It is natural to assign to their

[5] The Store City of Pithom, 3rd ed. p. 15.

[6] Maspero, Momies de Deir el Bahari, p. 751.

reign, if not the special reverence of which cats were the object, which can be traced to a very early date; at least the custom of giving those animals a sacred burial. I consider therefore the twenty-second dynasty as having first established the cemetery of cats. Standing on the western part of the mounds of Tell Basta, and looking towards Zagazig, the visitor has before him an area of several acres, which has been dug out thoroughly. Near the numerous pits by which the place is honeycombed, are seen heaps of white bones of cats. This spot has been one of the most productive mines which the fellaheen had at their disposal. There they found the numerous bronze cats which fill the shops of the dealers at Cairo, and also the standing statuettes of a divinity crowned with a lotus flower, out of which issue two plumes, the god *Nefertum*, the son of Bast.

Although the cemetery was considered as exhausted, I made an attempt at excavations in order to find bronze cats, and to ascertain the manner in which the animals are buried. We emptied completely several of the large pits in which they had been deposited. The work was superintended chiefly by Dr. Goddard, who took part in the excavations during the winter of 1889. The fellaheen, when they dug for bronze cats, began with the upper pits; we had to go much deeper than they had done, and we reached older pits, which the water of the inundation reaches every year, so that the bronzes are in a very bad state of preservation. We discovered a few of them—sitting cats, heads, the inner part of which is empty; a good specimen representing Bast standing under the form of a woman with a slender body and a cat's head, wearing a long dress and holding in her hands a sistrum and a basket, and having at her feet four crouching kittens.

The bones are heaped up in large subterraneous pits, the walls and bottom of which are made of bricks or hardened clay. Near each pit is seen the furnace in which the bodies of the animals were burnt; its red or blackened bricks indicate clearly the action of the fire, which is confirmed by the circumstance that the bones often form a conglomerate with ashes and charcoal. This cremation accounts also for the difficulty we had in finding unbroken bones or complete skulls; indeed, when handled, they nearly always fell to pieces. Here and there among the bones have been thrown bronze cats or statuettes of Nefertum, which are but rarely intact; the feet are generally broken off. Some of the pits were very large; we emptied one containing over 720 cubic feet of bones. This gives an idea of the quantity of cats necessary for filling it.

At Professor Virchow's request we gathered skulls which could stand the transport, and we sent them to the illustrious naturalist in Berlin. We had been struck at first sight by the fact that several skulls were too large to be cats; the Arab diggers called them rabbit heads. According to the researches of Professor Virchow these skulls belonged to ichneumons, which were buried with the cats because they also were sacred animals. As for the cats themselves, the interesting discussions which have taken place at the Anthropological Society of Berlin have shown that they belonged to several species of the cat-tribe, but not to the domestic cat, which probably the Egyptains had not. The majority of the bones of Bubastis are those of the African type called *Felis maniculata*, which, according to Dr. Hartmann, is the original stock of our domestic cat, and abounds in Ethiopia and on the Upper Nile. There we are to look for the primitive resort of our cat, the domestication of which goes back only to a recent epoch, much later than the pictures of the Egyptian tombs. It is probable that the Egyptians had succeeded in taming the cat, as is done to-day with the ichneumon, and that they used it for hunting purposes, or otherwise, but it seems well

established that they had not gone so far as a regular domestication of the animal.

Professor Virchow and the Berlin naturalists who discussed the question, do not admit that the bones discovered at Bubastis belonged to animals that had been burnt. I believe that this opinion is in consequence of the fact that we sent only bones which were in a fair state of preservation, because in the furnace where the animals were heaped up, the burning had not been complete, and some of the skeletons may have escaped the action of the fire. I think that the presence of furnaces in the cemetery, and the contents of a pit, where the bones are mixed up with ashes and charcoal, is a decisive argument in favour of the cremation of the bodies. Besides, there are no traces whatever of embalming; once only we found little bits of gold paper which may have been on the cartonnage of the mummy, or on the wrappings which covered the body of an animal, which for some reason or other did not share the same fate as the others. If there has been a mummification of cats at Bubastis, it was of very rare occurrence, while it is the rule in other cemeteries like Beni-Hassan.

Brugsch has observed that the sculptured representations of the goddess or the statues are always lion-headed,[7] while the bronzes are cats. The Egyptian word is the same for both; the Egyptians seem to have considered the smaller animal as a diminutive of the other, as its reduced image, which was presented to the goddess as an offering. It is the same with the hippopotamus and the pig, which are also designated by one word. Bast is a form of *Mut*, the mother-goddess, and also of *Hathor*, the goddess of Denderah. She assumes the names of *Uot'i*, and also of *Sekhet*, when she appears as a warlike divinity and as a destructive power. We read in a text of Philæ,[8] *she is furious as Sekhet, and she is appeased as Bast.* In the text of the destruction of mankind, which I found in the tomb of Seti I., Hathor takes the form of Sekhet when she slaughters the men and tramples on their blood. Sekhet is the Βουβάστις ἀγρία of the Greeks.

The most frequent qualifications of Bast at Bubastis are: *the great goddess of Bubastis, the queen of the gods, the eye*, or perhaps, *the daughter of Ra, the mighty, the queen of the sky*, and also, as we saw in several instances, *the priestess herseshta of Tum*, an obscure title which was never found before. The name of Bast, as is pointed out by Brugsch, is derived from the root which means *impulse, motion*, and which according to the cases may be *to introduce* or *to bring out*. Brugsch connects the idea of motion with the fructifying and fertilizing action of heat, which would be Bast, while on the contrary, when, as is often the case in a climate like Egypt, the heat becomes a nuisance and an evil, it would be Sekhet. Brugsch considers also Bast as a form of the moon, to which fertility is often attributed in the Egyptian mythology.

The name of Bast is a feminine form of *Bes*, the god of the East, a warlike divinity, whose chief sanctuary was also very near Bubastis, in the neighbouring nome of Arabia, the capital of which was *Phacusa*.[9] There he was called *Sopt*, and he took several forms and different names; one of them is *Sopt Shu*, a god who is armed like Bes. Comparing the inscriptions of the great shrine of Saft-el-Henneh with the inscriptions of Bubastis, we find that the divinity accompanying Bast most frequently, and considered as her son, is called *Horhiken*, a god with a hawk's head, like all forms of *Horus*; or *Nefertum*, a god with a human head wearing a lotus flower, out of which issue two plumes, or *Menthu*, a god with a hawk's head, and lastly *Mahes*, who at Saft el Henneh is represented as a lion

[7] I know of one exception at Behbeit-el-Hagar. See The Mound of the Jew, pl. vi.

[8] Brugsch, Dict. p. 810.

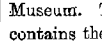
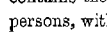
[9] Goshen, p. 10.

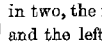
devouring the head of a human being, and who often wears the emblems of Nefertum.[1] The triad[2] of Bubastis consists of *Tum*, *Bast*, and *Mahes*, called also *Nefertum* or *Horhiken*. As we know that the ichneumon was an emblem of Tum,[3] there is nothing extraordinary in the fact that those animals should be mixed in the cemetery with the cats which represented Bast and Mahes.

DYNASTIES TWENTY-THREE TO TWENTY-NINE.

AFTER the Osorkons it seems that Bubastis soon began to decline, we find no more important monuments, and hardly any traces of the kings who preceded Nekhthorheb. We must remember that the country went through troubled times which were not favourable to the execution of great works, for which peace and prosperity are necessary. Egypt had to undergo several invasions, of the Ethiopians first, and afterwards of the Assyrians, to whom she was long tributary. The dynasty which restored to Egypt part of her former splendour, under whose reign there was a kind of revival both in art and in political life, the twenty-sixth, does not seem to have taken much interest in Bubastis, but to have concentrated its works on other localities, like Sais, its native city, or the north-eastern part of the Delta.

However, two small monuments of that dynasty have been preserved; one of them bearing its date, and which is the forepart of a crouching statuette in basalt, of very fine workmanship, with Bast sculptured in the middle, and an inscription on each side (pl. xliii. D). On the arms are the cartouches of the king *Vahabra*, Apries, Hophra, under whose reign the man lived. He was undoubtedly a high dignitary, for his titles are: *prince of the first order*, *chancellor*, and *chief of the friends of the king*. His name was *Nespahor*, and his surname *Neferabraankh*, *the living Neferabra*, the image of Neferabra, who was king Psammetik II., under whose reign he was born. His father was a prophet, and was called *Menhor*, *the image of Horus*.

Another monument, the style of which is Saitic, is a much obliterated group, in limestone, of a priest and priestess, now in the British Museum. The inscription engraved on the back contains the remainder of the titles of the two persons, with the usual formulas. It is divided in two, the right side referring to the priestess, and the left to the priest, whose name has disappeared. There was also some text inscribed on the edge of the monument (pl. xliii. A, A'.) We see there that the title of *herseshta* was special to Bubastis; we saw it given to the goddess herself, we saw also that Khaemuas, the son of Rameses II., had been invested with the same dignity as the Saitic priest, who is  *herseshta sekhetnuter, priest of the holy field*, the usual name of the territory of Bubastis. It is the first time that we find the name of the goddess written  *Sekhetnuter*, which I consider to be the Egyptian name corresponding to the Greek *Βουβάστις ἀγρία*.[4]

In the same inscription also we come across an unknown geographical name  *the garden* or *the field* or *the marsh of Horus*, as we saw before that there was one of Bast. It must have been a locality in the neighbourhood of the temple, or at least in the territory of the city, for the man says that he received for his hereditary share *the house of his father in the garden of*

[1] Goshen, pl. iii. 3, vi. 6, vii. 5.

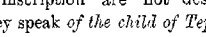
[2] See Goshen, pl. ii. 6, the three members of the triad under their various forms standing before Sopt.

[3] Goshen, pl. vi. 6.

[4] The Mound of the Jew, p. 23.

Horus. The name of the priestess, which alone has been preserved, is *Honttuui*.

I assign also to the Saitic epoch a fragment of a statue in black granite; part of the inscription of the sides and of the back has been preserved. The monument was dedicated to Bast of Bubastis. The fragments of lines of the lateral inscription are not destitute of interest; they speak *of the child of Tep, with its pleasant face, who is in the garden of Bast* (pl. xliii. c).

I saw also in the shop of a dealer at Zagazig a small fragment of green basalt, of the same date. The deceased, as usual, addresses the priests who pass by going into the temple,  *every priest entering the sanctuary of the lady of Bast.*

Following the chronological order, we come to a small statue in limestone, the middle part of which only has been preserved (pl. xliii. B). It is a dedication of the king Hakoris, of the twenty-ninth dynasty, to the goddess *Bast of Bubastis*. It is the first time that a monument of this king has been found in the Delta. The fragment is now in the British Museum.

THE THIRTIETH DYNASTY.

I NOTICED in another work[5] the considerable number of constructions which have been raised in the Delta by the thirtieth dynasty, and especially by the first king, Nekhthorheb. Bubastis is one of the localities where he displayed the greatest activity; for he added to the temple a hall which he intended to be the largest. It prolonged the temple on the west, and was 100 feet square. All around the walls, on the top, ran a cornice adorned with large projecting asps; a fragment of it was visible at the end of last century, and has been reproduced in the work of the French Expedition; we discovered a few more.

The hall of Nekhthorheb, like the others, is only a heap of blocks; the granite alone has been left. A great part of the building was made of red limestone from Gebel Ahmar, chips of which cover the ground, so that, more than any other spot in the temple, this hall has the appearance of a quarry. I think the hall never was finished; the walls were to be covered with sculptures, a part of which only has been executed. Nekhthorheb frequently employed in his structure materials taken from the older halls. Thanks to his unscrupulousness, we have preserved the block of Amenemha I., and that of Amenophis II., which was used as a door lintel, so that the inscription remained unhurt. A great many inscriptions have been completely erased, and it is impossible to assign a date to them.

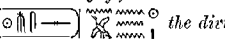
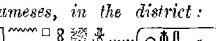
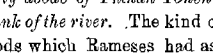
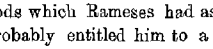
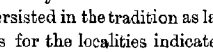
Nekhthorheb followed the traditions of the Bubastites; he dedicated his structure to Bast, and even, in order to show better how devoted he was to the goddess, he changed his cartouche, and instead of calling himself the *son of Isis*, as he does elsewhere, he styles himself the *son of Bast*. When he made the great constructions of Bubastis, he had already erected the temple of *Heb*; his cartouche contained already the name of that city; however, we discovered a fragment of a statue dedicated at the beginning of his reign, when he had not yet built the temple of Isis. He is called there (pl. xliii. B) *Nekhthorneb*, or *Hornebnekht*, as on the large cartouches of Samanood.[6]

Nekhthorheb was not satisfied with building the great hall, he put in it a shrine of polished red granite; the workmanship is so perfect that it must rank among the finest remains of Egyptian art. The sculptures are not very deep, but engraved with the most minute details (pl. xlvii. and xlviii.). Most of the frag-

[5] Goshen, p. 3.

[6] See The Mound of the Jew, pl. vi. 2, p. 25.

ments have been carried away and sent to the museum of Ghizeh or to the British Museum. We cannot make even an approximate reconstruction of the monument; too many fragments have disappeared. It is not impossible even that there were two of them. In the cartouches, which are regularly repeated, and which are the ornament of the cornice, Nekhthorheb is always styled *the son of Bast*, the goddess with a lion's head being substituted for Isis, who is generally seen in cartouches found in other places. It is not possible to translate even one sentence from the inscriptions which were engraved on the walls of the hall, which the king had built *to his mother, Bast;* there are only short fragments left (pl. xliv.—xlvi.). The peculiar character of those sculptures, as of most of those which are the work of Nekhthorheb or his successor, is the strange religious representations of which they consist. Nekhthorheb erected the tablet now called from the name of its owner the "Metternich tablet," which is covered with religious texts of the greatest interest; under Nectanebo's reign the shrine of Saft el Henneh was engraved, the partial destruction of which is much to be regretted, and which has the greatest likeness to the monuments of Nekhthorheb. At that time it seems that the sovereigns wished to give their monuments a more religious stamp; the texts which accompany the figures are no mere commonplace sentences; they are much more developed; as for the divinities, they are more numerous, and are seen under the most various appearances. The god to whom a monument is dedicated appears followed by a train of divinities, who are nearly the whole Egyptian pantheon.

From the larger fragments which have been preserved, we may infer that the representations were divided into successive panels, between which stood a huge serpent (pl. xlvi. D, E). In each panel appear several divinities, the names of which are given; but though the god alone is represented, it seems that the text was intended to be a catalogue of temples, for the text always begins with the words: *the holy abode, the sanctuary of;* thus we have,  *the divine abode of Ra, of Rameses, in the district: the water of Ra;*  *the holy abode of Phthah Tonen of Rameses, on the bank of the river.* The kind of property over the gods which Rameses had assumed, and which probably entitled him to a special protection, persisted in the tradition as late as Nekhthorheb. As for the localities indicated by those names, the first may be the city called under the Ptolemies *Onias,*[1] north of Heliopolis, the present Tell el Yahoodieh. We do not know what is meant by the second, which may be Memphis. Several other sacred abodes are quoted; most of them are much obliterated; some of the most interesting are:  *the sacred abode of Teb, the god of Aphroditopolis* in Upper Egypt;[2]  *the divine abode of Amon of the Northern city,* Diospolis parva, in the Delta;  *the divine abode of Arsaphes, the king of the gods, the lord of Hanes,* Heracleopolis.

Very little remains of the inscription of the basement, as well as of the upper cornice; one of them contained a date, or something connected with chronology, as we may conclude from the fragment now in the museum of Ghizeh, where we read (pl. xliv. E), *of the festival, every one, fifty years.* Is it the length of the period after which the festival was celebrated, or did Nekhthorheb build the hall, as Osorkon II. had done before, on the occasion of a great solemnity? We can express only conjectures. One thing is certain; if there was any festival at all, it was decidedly in honour of Bast, and

[1] The Mound of the Jew, p. 12.

[2] Brugsch, Dict. géog. p. 928.

not of Amon, as under Osorkon. Among the sacred animals sculptured on the walls, we find the ichneumon (pl. xlv. F), which, as we said before, being an emblem of Tum, was buried with the cats.

At the end of the hall was a shrine of red granite, perhaps even two, covered with religious representations, and processions of gods. The walls were divided in horizontal registers, separated by a band covered with stars, which figures the sky, and which is supported by men with raised arms. Shrines of the same kind were made by Nekhthorheb in several places; I found fragments of one at Saft el Henneh, and of another at Belbeis, two cities where the worship had great similarity with that of Bubastis. A particularly artistic fragment to be noticed, contains the name of the king, followed by the predicate *the living lord, like Ra.* Name and predicate are arranged in such a way as to form two medallions of the same size, and perfectly symmetrical. The name of the king has not the shape of an oval; all the signs are included in the sign *Heb*, so that the whole reads, *Nekhthorheb si Bast* (pl. xlvii. A).

On a somewhat larger fragment Bast is seen sitting, and the king is before her making offerings. Bast is called *the lady of the shrine, the daughter of Horus, residing in the holy field*, the well-known name for the territory of Bubastis (xlvii. G).

To the reign of Nekhthorheb belongs also a statue, so much mutilated, that only a shapeless fragment has been preserved. It probably represented the king himself, sitting, with a smaller figure standing near him. On the sides and on the back of the throne was engraved a procession of figures, and an inscription referring to festivals, the date of which was given:

(Pl. xliii. F F′ F″) . . . l. 3, *towards the statues of the temple of his mother, Usert (the mighty) Bast.* . . . l. 4, *the lord of the diadems, Nekhthorheb, in the festival of the first of the month, and of the half month.* . . . l. 5, *on the fifth of the month of Tybi, the day when the statue was sculptured.*

Judging from the style of the work we must classify among the monuments of Nekhthorheb a fragment of a statue of Bast, standing, of beautiful workmanship (pl. xliii. G). In the inscription are contained part of the titles of the goddess, . . . *the lady of Bast, the daughter of Ra, the queen of the sky, who rules over all the gods,* . . . *the great one, the lady of Bast, the priestess herseshta of Tum, the only one, who has no descent, the goddess of the North, who rules.* . . . The name of *Mehent*, the goddess of the North, identifies her with *Uoti*.[2] A text of the same king, discovered at Behbeit el Hagar (Heb, Iseum), speaks of her under the name of *Meht*;[1] the determinative is a cat, and not a lion.

To all the above described monuments, the age of which is pointed to either by a name or by the style, we must add a few, the date of which is uncertain. Two fragments of red limestone have been found in the first hall, both bearing very large inscriptions carefully engraved. One of them was horizontal (pl. xlix. C); it accompanied probably a scene of offerings. It mentions *the great princess*, who may be Bast or any other goddess. The other is vertical, and reads, *the gods, by the art of Shet* , another name of Bast (pl. xlix. D). Immediately after came the name of a king, entirely destroyed. A fragment of a pillar in white limestone, used by the Romans in a very rude construction which they erected at the entrance of the first hall, bears the following words: *the divine father, the herseshta in the temple of the mighty goddess* (pl. xlix. A). There is an omission in the inscription, the sign has been forgotten above the first . The signs are cut very deep. The pillar may be Ptolemaic, and have been engraved for the same man who had in his tomb a Canopic vase,

[2] Brugsch, Myth. p. 324, 329, 336.

[1] The Mound of the Jew, pl. vi.

which we purchased from the sebakh diggers. His titles and name were (pl. xlix. B), *the divine father, the herseshta of Bast, the lady of Bast, the scribe of the treasury, Aba.*

THE PTOLEMIES AND THE ROMANS.

At the entrance of the hypostyle hall, on two blocks of red granite, which were bases of statues, we found two Greek inscriptions, without any remains of the statues which stood above. The inscriptions are the following. One of them is complete, and has been carried to the museum of Ghizeh, the other is only half preserved (pl. xlix. E, F).

Ἀπολλώνιον Θεῶνος τῶν φίλ(ων)
τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ διοικήτην
τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὸν Πτολεμαῖος
Ἀπολλωνίου τῶν διαδόχων
εὐνοίας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς βασιλέα
Πτολεμαῖον καὶ βασίλισσαν
Κλεοπάτραν θεοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ
εὐχαρίστους καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν.

Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον θ . . .
καὶ εὐχαρίστον καὶ το . . .
Πτολεμαῖον Ἀπολλώ(νιος Θεωνος)
τῶν φίλων ὁ διοική(της . . .
ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς τὰ . . .
αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τέκ . . .

Undoubtedly these inscriptions were dedications of statues; it is the rule to employ the accusative alone in honorary inscriptions.[2] They acquaint us with a high official of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, the *dioicetes*, or *minister of finance, Apollonios, the son of Theon.* According to M. Lumbroso[3] we knew already six of those officials, one of whom, Tlepolemos, belongs to the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, and is described by Polybius as a bad administrator. As Tlepolemos was in office in the twentieth year of Ptolemy, he must have been the successor of Apollonios, who was one of the *friends* of the king, a very high dignity at the court of the Greek kings. A statue is erected to him by Ptolemy, one of the διαδόχοι, the *life-guards*, who probably were the successors of the Macedonian soldiers. He calls himself the brother, ἀδελφός, of Apollonios, but as they had not the same father, since Ptolemy was the son of another Apollonios, and Apollonios the son of Theon, the word ἀδελφός must mean either first cousin or uterine brother.

In the second inscription it is Apollonios, the son of Theon, who writes the dedication, for I do not think there can be any doubt as to the restitution, Ἀπολλώνιος Θεῶνος (l. 3). He seems to have erected two statues, since he mentions first the king and afterwards his brother Ptolemy. It is natural that the high standing minister should speak first of his sovereign. Both brothers give a curious motive for making a monument to each other, "kindness towards the king and queen." It may have been a present intended to court the good-will of the sovereign, but if they had some favour to ask for, it is strange that they both should have done it by adorning the temple of Bast with monuments which were testimonies of their friendliness to each other.

Although they left no inscriptions, it is clear that the Romans did not abandon the temple of Bubastis. At the entrance of the hypostyle hall, the place where the Greek inscriptions were discovered, was the pedestal of a statue (pl. vi.), part of which we may have found, for at a short distance was a headless torso in green basalt, wearing a toga with an ornamental fringe exactly similar to that of the Roman statue in the museum of Ghizeh. The front part of a fine torso in white stone, which was used as a bridge over a ditch, and which we purchased from a fellah, is also Roman work. I think that the Romans used the temple for military purposes, for they seem to have made to it strong doors, the posts of which were built of huge stones. On the west side, where there was an entrance, was found a large block, still *in situ*, with a cartouche of Nekhthorheb

[2] Reinach, Epig. grecque, p. 380.
[3] Econ. pol. p. 339.

turned upside down, showing that it had been used after the king for a purpose quite different from what he originally intended. On the north side of the Festival Hall was also a door, the hinge of which has been preserved (pl. xxvii. and xxii. B). It is a cube of one foot of solid bronze inserted into a stone, and fastened underneath with a very hard welding, and on the sides with stone wedges. On the top is seen the slight hollow where the pivot of the door turned; the stone itself, which was the threshold, and out of which we took the hinge, bears a circular furrow produced by the door in being opened and closed (pl. xxii. B).

As the Egyptians sometimes buried their dead in the enclosure walls of the cities, I made some excavations in the very thick wall which surrounded Bubastis, and two sides of which have been preserved, on the west and the north of the Tell. I even cut completely through it. It did not give any interesting result; I found only very late burials, in coffins of terra-cotta, or made of raw bricks, such as may be seen on plate xxviii. They contained mummified bodies, but quite destitute of any amulet, inscription, or funereal object of any kind. I consider them as being interments of poor people of the end of the Roman period.

THE SMALL TEMPLE.

We hear from Herodotus that at a distance of three furlongs from the temple of Bast, at the end of a road which passed through the market-place, and which was lined by trees of an extraordinary height, was the temple of Hermes. The direction of the road is still traceable, although above its level there is an accumulation of several feet of earth. At the distance indicated by the Greek writer, the Tell ends, and we reach cultivated fields where, when I went there first, a few granite blocks were scattered. After long and difficult negotiations, I obtained from the owner, the sheikh of a neighbouring village, the permission to excavate in his field, with the condition that I should not carry away anything which I might discover.

This excavation lasted a week. It brought to light a small heap of broken stones jumbled together, and which evidently were the remains of a building smaller than the Temple of Bast. The largest fragment was an architrave, bearing the name of Rameses II. Except this one, all the others had the name of Osorkon I., who had certainly enlarged this small temple, if he did not raise it completely. On plates I. to Iii. has been reproduced all that remains of the inscriptions, which must have been numerous. It is possible that the temple extended further, and that there were other chambers around that which I discovered; but the ill-will of the fellah prevented me from searching for them, and could not be conquered even by the high pecuniary compensation which I offered for more extensive excavations. In Egypt we must always reckon with the innate feeling, of which even highly situated persons are not free, that the explorer looks only for gold and treasures.

Herodotus seems to have made a mistake, when he says that the small temple was dedicated to Hermes. It must have been consecrated to the same divinities as the great temple. In the few and badly preserved remains of the representations which adorned its wall (pl. I.), we find the king making offerings to the triad of Bubastis, Bast being seen twice, once as Tefnut, the other time as Sekhet. Also in the sacred barges which were sculptured on the walls, and of which a few remains only have been left, Bast is seen standing before a man who must be the king. The reason which induced Herodotus to consider the temple as having been dedicated to Thoth, is the frequent occurrence of the god in the inscriptions, and

probably in the sculptures which have been destroyed, and where the Greek traveller, who could not read hieroglyphs, might recognize the ibis head of the god. The mistake of Herodotus was perhaps suggested to him by the character of the edifice, which I believe to have been a treasury. Thoth was the "*lord of truth*," from whom wisdom and intelligence were thought to proceed. It is natural that he should have the treasures of Bubastis under his special protection, just as in other temples we see him represented in sculptures or inscriptions concerning measurements, accounts, and dates.

Notwithstanding the architrave with the name of Rameses II., it is obvious from the great number of cartouches of Osorkon I. discovered there, that it is this king who mostly contributed to the construction of the small temple, which he intended to be a monument of his wealth and of his munificence towards the gods. All the inscriptions which we found are accounts of gold, silver, and precious stones, especially lapis lazuli, offered to several divinities. It is much to be regretted that there are such scanty remains of these inscriptions, which were engraved on four sides of a pillar. The dates, of which there were several, the valuations of sums, would be very interesting, considering that they refer to a period of Egyptian history which is nearly unknown. There is only one fragment of a certain extent; it contains parts of five lines of an horizontal inscription which was engraved on one of the faces of the pillar (pl. li.). The fragment is broken in two. I made paper casts of the inscription, but I could not persuade the fellah to sell me the stone, and to let me take it to the museum of Ghizeh. Since my departure, it has been carried away by a pasha of the neighbourhood.

In this inscription the name of Thoth frequently occurs. It is the god who suggested to the king to make these generosities to the temples. Osorkon even was Thoth himself when he did it: l. 2. "*He built their abodes, and he multiplied the vases of gold, silver, and precious stones. The king gave his directions in his form of the god of Hesert* (Thoth), meaning as being Thoth himself. We are struck here, as on the other fragments, by the high amount of the sums given. We find, for instance, the following sums: l. 3, gold, 5010 *uten*;[1] silver, 30,720 *uten*; genuine lapis lazuli, 1600; black copper, 5000; and something which looks like a shrine or a vase, and has a weight of 100,000 *uten*.[2] Turn Kheper of Heliopolis receives as his share 15,345 *uten* of gold and 14,150 of silver. According to Brugsch's latest researches, and taking his estimate of the proportion of the value of both metals at ten to one, the approximate value of the above sums would be in English money 130,311*l.* worth in gold and 12,827*l.* of silver given to a single temple. If it was so, we can understand that the last line, where some of these gifts seem to have been summed up, should mention a sum of 494,300 *uten*, taking only the signs which are distinct, for on account of the erasure, the first figure 5 may have been much higher. On other fragments of the same pillar we find sums of this amount: gold and silver, 2,300,000 *uten*, and elsewhere (pl. lii. c, 2) more than two millions of *uten* of silver. We have no reason to think that there is exaggeration in these statements, considering that we have not here vague indications, but sums given correctly down to the units.

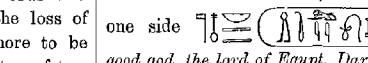
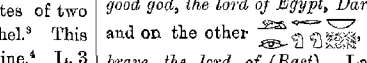
It gives us a very high idea of what the riches and the prosperity of the kingdom must have been under Osorkon I. In this case, as with the thirtieth dynasty, we have to reverse the generally admitted opinion as to the con-

[1] Brugsch assigns to the uten the weight of 90.9 grammes, which differs only slightly from the 1450 grains assigned to the uten by Mr. Petrie, vid. Brugsch, Zeitschr. vol. xxvii. p. 85 & ff.

[2] Prof. Brugsch in a private letter says he considers the word as meaning a very high sum of money.

dition of the empire under the Bubastites. It is clear that *it* was only in a time of peace and prosperity that such gorgeous liberalities could be made to the temples.

Reverting to the horizontal inscription, it is remarkable through several new words and some unknown signs, which make the loss of the greatest part of the text the more to be regretted. L. 5 mentions the tributes of two of the oases, El Khargeh and Dakhel.[3] This tribute consists of several kinds of wine.[4] L. 3 there is a chronological indication, where unfortunately we have lost an important datum, the name of the month: *from the first year, the 7th of . . ., to the 4th year, the 25th of Mesori, which makes 3 years, 3 months, and 16 days . . .* Whatever name of the month is taken to fill up the gap, it does not correspond exactly to this number of months and days.

We end here the description of the antiquities and of the texts discovered at Bubastis. As we have shown, they extend from the fourth dynasty to the Romans. Twenty-five kings are mentioned, from Cheops to Ptolemy Epiphanes, one of them, Ian-Ra, being quite unknown before. It is possible that other royal names may be discovered on the small objects found by the fellaheen digging for "sebakh." There are some, for instance, in Mr. Hilton Price's collection, which comes chiefly from Tell Basta. In my last visit to the place I purchased from a fellah a small porcelain tablet, which I gave to the museum of Ghizeh, and which bears on one side  , *the good god, the lord of Egypt, Darius, everlasting*, and on the other  , *Mahes, the very brave, the lord of* (*Bast*). Large scarabs of Amenophis III., even the so-called marriage scarabs of the king, are not rare. They come from the tombs which are under the Roman houses, and are often met with by the fellaheen. The discovery of these tombs was originally the purpose which attracted me to Bubastis, but I very soon gave them up for the great temple, which has been excavated so thoroughly during more than two winters, that in my opinion any further excavation there would be entirely devoid of result. I do not think there is any more work to be done in the great sanctuary of Bast, which proved to be one of the richest places of Lower Egypt, only to be compared with Tanis. It is a striking example of the archæological treasures which lie buried in the Delta, and which only wait for the pick and spade of the scientific explorer.

[3] Brugsch, Reise nach der grossen Oase, pp. 66, 69.

[4] Brugsch, l. 1, p. 79.

LIST OF KINGS

Whose Names were Found in the Inscriptions of Bubastis.

Cheops	IVth	Dynasty.	Rameses II.	XIXth	Dynasty.
Chefren	„	„	Merenphthah	„	„
Pepi I.	VIth	„	Rameses III.	XXth	„
Amenemha I.	XIIth	„	„ VI.	„	„
Usertesen I.	„	„	Sheshonk I.	XXIInd	„
„ III.	„	„	Osorkon I.	„	„
Sebekhotep I.	XIIIth	„	„ II.	„	„
Ian-Ra	Hyksos.		Psammetik II.	XXVIth	„
Apepi	„		Apries	„	„
Amenophis II.	XVIIIth	„	Darius	XXVIIth	„
„ III.	„	„	Hakoris	XXIXth	„
„ IV. (Khu-enaten	„	„	Nekhthorheb	XXXth	„
Seti I.	XIXth	„	Ptolemy Epiphanes	Greek Kings.	

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE

CONTENTS OF PLATES.

With references to the pages of the Memoir.

PLATE		PAGE
I.	Great Hyksos head found at the entrance of the temple on the east, now in the British Museum,[1] see pl. x.	26
II.	Roman brick constructions, remains of the old city. Phot. Rev. W. MacGregor	3
III.	General view of the excavations, taken from the east, in February, 1887. In the foreground, headdress of a colossal statue (pl. xxi. B, c). Ph. Brugsch-Bey	3, 4
IV.	The same taken a month later. In the foreground, base of the Hyksos statue now in the British Museum. Ph. Rev. W. MacGregor	2, 3, 26
V.	Hypostyle Hall taken from the south. On the right, lotus-bud capital, now in Boston Museum. Ph. Rev. W. MacGregor (pl. liii.)	10—13
VI.	Hypostyle Hall taken from the north. In the middle, Roman pedestal. On the right, base of a statue of Nekhthorheb (p. 58). On the left, fragment of a statue of Rameses VI. (p. 45), and base of the statue of Ian-Ra. Ph. Rev. W. MacGregor	10—13
VII.	The same taken more to the west. Lotus-bud columns and Hathor capitals. Ph. Rev. W. MacGregor	10—13
VIII.	Standard of Cheops, British Museum. Ph. Rev. W. MacGregor	5
IX.	Great Hathor capital, Boston. Ph. Brugsch-Bey. See the same in profile, pl. xxiii. A	11
X.	Great Hyksos head, the same as pl. i.	26
XI.	Great Hyksos head, first discovered. Museum of Ghizeh. Ph. Brugsch-Bey	26
XII.	Base of a statue of Ian-Ra. Ghizeh	23
XIII.	Two statues of the official Amenophis. The left one in the Ghizeh Museum, the right one in the British Museum. Ph. Rev. W. MacGregor. See pl. xxv. B, the back of the statue in Ghizeh	31
XIV.	Statue bearing the name of Rameses II., now in the Museum of Geneva. Ph. Thévoz	16, 37
XV.	Head of an ornamental statue wearing the *atef*, and inscribed with the name of Rameses II. Ghizeh. Ph. Brugsch-Bey	38
XVI.	Rameses VI. Ghizeh. Ph. Brugsch-Bey. See the inscription on the back, pl. xxxviii. K	46
XVII.	Block bearing a list of conquered countries. Ph. Rev. W. MacGregor.	40

[1] Wherever no name is mentioned, the phototypes have been made from photographs which I took myself.

PLATE PAGE

XVIII. Osorkon I. making an offering to Bast. Ph. Rev. W. MacGregor . 47

XIX. Group of Phthah and Rameses II. In front block from the inscriptions of the festival of Osorkon II. Ph. Rev. W. MacGregor. . . . 42

XX. Block bearing the name of *Set of Rameses*. Two of our *reises* (Arab overseers). Ph. Rev. W. MacGregor. York Museum 42

XXI. A. Architectural head of Rameses II. Ph. Count d'Hulst. See also pl. xxiv. C. British Museum. . . 38

B, C. Headdress of a colossal statue of Ra. Ghizeh. 34

XXII. A. Inscription of Apepi. British Museum 22

B. Stone in which a bronze hinge (pl. xxvii.) was inserted . . . 60

C. Architrave showing the dedication of the temple to Set . . . 42

D. False door of the Old Empire. British Museum 7

XXIII. A. Profile of the Hathor capital in Boston 11

B. Hathor capital of the smaller type. Sydney. 12

C. Shoulder of a colossal statue usurped by Osorkon II. . . 14, 35

D. Part of an architrave of Rameses II. 9, 36

XXIV. A. Stone of the twelfth dynasty, usurped by Rameses II. . . 36

B. Hathor capital. Louvre . . 11

C. Architectural head of Rameses II. (pl. xxi. A) 38

D. Base of a colossal Hyksos statue. Ghizeh 9, 26, 48

XXV. A. Base of a statue of Rameses VI. left on the spot 46

B. Back of the statue of Amenophis (pl. xiii.) Ghizeh. . . . 32

C. Base of a statue bearing the name of Rameses II., the head of which is in Sydney, left on the spot. 9, 14, 37

D. Base of the Hyksos statue in the British Museum, when first discovered 26

XXVI. A. Upper lintel of a door. The other side bears an inscription of Amenophis II. (pl. xxxv. D). British Museum 30

B. Fragments of the two Hyksos statues, when first discovered . 26

C. Architrave usurped by Rameses II., showing still part of the cartouche of Usertesen III. British Museum 9, 36

D. Erased architrave showing traces of the words: *the chief of the Retennu*. The other side bears the name of Rameses II. See pl. v., on the left. 36

XXVII. Bronze hinge of Roman time. Ghizeh. Ph. Rev. W. MacGregor. See pl. xxii. B, the stone in which it was inserted 60

XXVIII. Interment of late Roman time, in the enclosure wall of the city. Ph. Rev. W. MacGregor 66

XXIX. Shayaleen dragging blocks. Ph. Rev. W. MacGregor 4

XXX. Shayaleen carrying stones out of the trenches. Ph. Rev. W. MacGregor 4

XXXI. Gang of labourers. Ph. Rev. W. MacGregor.

INSCRIPTIONS.

XXXII. A. Standard of Cheops. See pl. viii. 5

B. Standard and name of Chefren. British Museum 5

C, D. Titles and name of Pepi I. Ghizeh 6

XXXIII. A. Inscription of Amenemha I. . 8

B—F. Usertesen III. . . . 9

PLATE		PAGE
	G—I. Cartouches of Sebekhotep I.	15
XXXIV.	A. Historical inscription	10
	B. Fragment of the twelfth dynasty	
	C. List of nomes. Usertesen III.	9
	D, E. Nile gods. Usertesen I.	9
XXXV.	A. King Ian-Ra (pl. xii.)	23
	B. Standard of Apepi	23
	C. Inscription of Apepi	23
	D. Stone of Amenophis II. (pl. xxvi. A)	30
	E. Smaller statue of Amenophis	32
	F, F″. Larger statue of Amenophis	32
	G. Group of priest and priestess	33
	H. The official *Kherfu*. Ghizeh	33
	I. The god of *Khuenaten*. Ghizeh	34
XXXVI.	A. Rameses II. making offerings	38
	B—D. Lists of captives	40
	E. Tablet of red granite	39
	F, G. *Phthah of Rameses*	42
	H. The god Menthu. Montreal.	54
	I. *Set of Rameses*	42
	K, L, O. Merenphthah as prince	43
	M. The royal son *Khaemuas*	43
	N. A royal son of Kush. Boston	42, 45
XXXVII.	List of nomes. Rameses II.	41
XXXVIII.	A. Nile gods. Rameses II.	9, 37
	B. Tablet of black granite. Ghizeh	41
	C, C″. Statue of Menthuhershepshef. Boston	43
	D. Statue of King Merenphthah	45
	E. Statue of a royal son of Kush	45
	F. Statue of the god Phthah	42, 44
	G. Statue of King Rameses III. Ghizeh	45
	H, H″. Statue of King Rameses VI., red limestone. Ghizeh	45
	I, I′. Statue of King Rameses VI., black granite, left on the spot.	45
	K. Statue of King Rameses VI., red granite (pl. xvi.). Ghizeh	45
XXXIX. and XL.	Osorkon I. making offerings to Bast and to various divinities	47, 48
XLI.	A—C. Inscriptions under the Hathor capitals	47, 48
	D. Pedestal in black basalt for a statue or a shrine	
	E—H. Osorkon II. Inscriptions of the gateway	49, 50
XLII.	A. Osorkon II. and his queen, Karoama. British Museum	52
	B. Date of the festival of Amon	50
	C. Daughters of Osorkon II.	52
	D—G. Set and Mahes	49
	H. Fragment of an usurped statue	
XLIII.	A. Saite priest and priestess. British Museum	55
	B. Statue of Hakoris. British Museum	56
	C. Unknown official	56
	D. Statuette of Nespahor. Ghizeh	55
	E. Unusual cartouche of Nekhthorheb	56
	F, F‴. Statue of Nekhthorheb	58
	G. Statue of Bast	58
XLIV.—VI.	Hall of Nekhthorheb	57
XLVII., VIII.	Shrine of Nekhthorheb	58
XLIX.	A. White limestone. Ptolemaic or Roman	58
	B. Canopic vase	59
	C, D. Red limestone, unknown epoch	58
	E, F. Greek inscriptions. Ghizeh	59
L.—LII.	Inscriptions of the small temple	60—62
LIII.	Architectural drawing of the great column now in Boston, made by M. E. Cramer	11
LIV.	Plan drawn by Count d'Hulst	13

INDEX.

PAGE

Aamu 18, 28, 29
Aba, priest 59
Aboo Simbel 39
Abydos 16, 41, 43
Accad 18
Africanus 20, 21
Ahmes, general 29
Ahmes I., King 29, 34
Amasis 1
Amen, *see* Amon.
Amenemha I. 8, 14, 31, 56
II. 8
III. 9
Amenophis, official 31, 32
I. 29
II. ... ... 29—31, 42, 56
III. ... ... 13, 14, 16, 20, 29—34, 62
IV. ... ... 29—31, 34
Amon, god 15, 30, 31, 35, 37, 42—44, 46—48, 50—52, 57, 58
of Rameses 42
Amonhershepshef 43, 44, 46
Amu 6
Amyrtaeos 2
An, King 24
Ankhrenpnefer, official 52
Ankhtoui, sanctuary of Memphis 14, 48
Apachnas... ... ... 17, 20
Apepi ... ... 21—23, 25, 29
Aphroditopolis 57
Apollonios 59
son of Theon 59
Apophis, *see* Apepi 17, 20, 21
Apries 24, 55
Arab, conquest 1, 20
Arabia, nome of 48, 54
Arabs 17, 19
Architraves, usurped 2, 36
Archles 20
Argo, island 15, 16
Arisu, Syrian 47
Armer, princess 52

PAGE

Arsaphes, god 57
Asa 51
Asiatics 27, 30, 34, 47
Asnis 17, 20
Assurbanipal 18
Assyrian kings 20
Assyrians 17, 55
Atar, Adulis, Adel 40
Atef, headdress 35, 38
Augustamnica, province 1
Avaris 17, 21, 22, 29, 30, 34
Aven, Heliopolis... 1

Babylonian language 20
Bagdad lion 24
Bagoas 1
Bailos (Belbeis) 33
Balikh 40
Barbarus Scaligeri 15
Barkal, Mount 15
Bast, goddess ... 8, 14, 31, 40—42, 44—51, 54—58, 60
name of the city ... ... 44—46, 48, 56
Basta, city of 1
Bastah, district of 1
Behbeit el Hagar 4, 58
Belbeis 44, 58
Benha 29, 31, 46
Beni Hassan, tombs at 11, 54
Beon, King 17, 20
Bes, god 54
Bnon, King 20
Boethos 4
Βουβάστις ἀγρία 54, 55
Brugsch Profr. 21, 30, 54, 61
Bubastis, goddess 8
Burton 5

Canopic vase 59
Caryatids 39
Cats ... ... 52—55, 58
bronze 53
cemetery of... ... ... 52—55

PAGE

Chabas 21
Chaldæan monuments 7
Chaldea 18
Chefren ... ... 3, 5, 8—10
Cheops 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 62
Choiak, month 50
Cilicia 40
Colossi of unknown date 14
Copts 20

Daphnæ 4
Darius 62
De Cara, Rev. Father 25
Deir el Bahari 13
Medineh... 12
Denderah 5, 6, 37, 48, 54
Dévéria 22, 24
Διαδόχοι, life guards 59
Diodorus Siculus... 1
Diospolis parva 15, 57
Diospolites 27

East, goddess of the 41
Edfoo 37, 48
Elam, Elamites 18, 20
Elephantine 13
Elithyiaspolis (El Kab) 33
El Kab 13, 33
Esneh 33
Ethiopia 53
Ethiopians 9, 51, 55
Eusebius 21, 30
Exodus 45
Ezekiel 1

Fayoom 22
Felis maniculata... 53
Festival celebrated at Bubastis 1
hall ... ...4, 37—39, 49, 50—52, 60
Flower, Professor 28
Friends of the king, title 32, 33, 59

Goddard, Dr. 53
Goodwin 21
Goshen 33, 45
Griffith, F. Ll. 2, 24

Hadrianus 1
Hakoris, King 56
Hamamât, quarries of 7

PAGE

Hanes (Heracleopolis) 57
Harmakhis, god 42, 48
Harris papyrus 45
Hartmann, Dr. 53
Hashepsu... ... ... 13, 29, 30, 34
Hathor 6, 48, 54
capitals ... ... 10—14, 34, 47, 48
Hauar, see Avaris.
Heb (Iseum) 56
Heliopolis 1, 6, 14, 45, 48, 57, 61
nome of 44, 48
Hermes (Mercury), temple of ... ... 3, 60—62
Herodotus ... ... 1—3, 36, 51, 60, 61
Hersekhta, sacerdotal title ... 43, 48, 50, 54, 55, 58, 59
Herusha 6
Hesert, mythological city 61
Hilton Price, collection of Mr. 62
Hinge of a door 60
Holy field, *see* Sekhet nuter.
Houttuui, priestess 56
Horemheb 29, 34
Horhiken, god 48, 50, 54, 55
Horus 5, 6, 23, 31, 35, 48, 54, 55, 58
Howara, labyrinth of 11, 13
Hua, height of 10
Hyksos ... ... 7, 15—29
sphinxes 21
statues ... ... 3, 9, 14, 26—28, 37, 39, 40, 48
the word 17
Hypostyle hall, the construction of 10, 49, 59

Ianias, see Ian-Ra 17, 20, 25
Ian-Ra ... ... 23—27, 62
Ichneumon 53, 55, 58
Ionians 41
Isis 56
Israelites 45

John, bishop of Nikiou... 1
Josephus... ... ... 16, 17, 19, 20, 25, 30

Kadesh 17, 44
Kalioub 1
Karnak 10, 12, 13, 16, 24, 31, 37
Karouma, queen 52
princess 52
Kennu, colonel 44
Keshkesh, land 40
Keti, land 40
Khnemuas 43, 44, 48

PAGE

Khaskhet, Khaset, land 10
Khataanah 29, 46
Kherfu, official 33
Kheta 19, 39, 40, 42, 43
Khian 23
Khudur Nakhunta 18
Khuenaten 34, 36
Kosseans... 18
Krall, Prof. 19
Kummeh... 9
Kush, royal son of 42, 44, 45
Kushites... 18

Lenormant 22
Lepsius 7, 15, 30
Libya 40
nome of 41
Libyan 46, 47
Lotus-bud columns ... ... 2, 10—13, 49
Lumbroso, G. 59
Luxor 12, 39

Ma, goddess 48
Macrisy 1
Mafek, Mafkat, mineral 6
Mafkat, region of 6
Mahes 48, 49, 54, 55, 62
Malus, traveller 1, 2
Manetho ... ... 4, 15—17, 19—22, 27
Mariette... ... ... 2, 21, 25, 27, 40
Marsh of Bubastis 33
of Horus 55
Marshes of the north 33
Mashuash, Μάξυες 40
Maspero, Prof. 21, 40, 52
Mehit, Mehent 58
Memphis... ... ... 13, 14, 17, 20, 46
Menkou, priest 55
Menkheperra 30
Menthu 43, 48, 54
Menthuhershepshef, prince 43, 44
Mentor 1
Merenphthah ... ... 18, 33, 39, 42—45
Mermashu, King 9, 27
Mesopotamia ... ...18—20, 28—30, 34
Mesori, month 62
Metternich tablet 57
Misphragmuthosis 30
Mitrahenny 39
Mongoloid type 28

PAGE

Mut, goddess 48, 51, 54

Naharain 34, 40
Nana, goddess 18
Nebesheh 16, 29, 42
Neb Ma Ra 32
Nectanebo 57
Neferabra, Psammetik II. 55
Neferabraankh, official 55
Neferhotep 15, 27
Neferkara 5
Nefertum... ... ... 41, 48, 53—55
Negroes 9, 39, 50
Nekhen 32, 33
Nekhthorheb ... ... 2—4, 55—59
Nekhthorheb, hall of ... ... 8, 45, 56—58
Nespahor, priest... 55
Nile gods 8, 9, 27, 37, 41
Nome gods 14
North, goddess of the 58
emblem of the ... ...
Nubia 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 38
Nut 42

Old Chronicle 21
Old Empire, temples of the 7, 8
On (Heliopolis) 35, 42
Onias 57
Oppert, Dr. 7
Orontes 40
Osorkon I. ... 2, 3, 12, 35, 42, 43, 47, 48, 50, 60, 61
II. 4, 8, 11, 12, 27, 37, 42, 45, 47, 48—52, 57

Pachnan 20
Palestine... ... ... 20, 29, 34, 51
Palm-leaf columns ... ...11—13, 34, 42, 49
Pepi I. ... ... 5—7, 50
Pelusium... 4
Perrot and Chipiez, Hist. of Art 7, 11
Pervenefer 30, 31
Petrie, Flinders 5, 16, 23, 35, 42, 61
Phacusa 54
Philae 54
Phocas, Emperor 1, 4
Phoenicians 19
Pharherunemef, priest 44
Phthah, temple of 13
Phthah 37, 38, 41, 42, 44
Anebresef 48
Tonen of Rameses 57
of Rameses 42

PAGE

Pi-Beacth 1
Pithom-Heröopolis 4, 29, 37, 45, 52
Pliny 6
Polychromy, use of 16
Pomponius Mela... 1
Psusennes 25
Ptolemaeus, geographer 1
Ptolemies... ... ... 33, 43, 44, 57, 59
Ptolemy, official 59
Epiphanes 59, 62

Ra, solar god 8, 21, 23—25, 29, 31, 35, 38, 41, 42, 44, 48—50, 54, 58
of Rameses 57
the water of, district 57
Raaakenen 21, 22
Raaauser 22
Raamses, city 45
Rahik Ma 46
Ra men Ma 31
Ra Set nouh 23, 24
Rameses, prince 44
Rameses II. 2, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16—19, 23, 25, 27, 34—51, 55, 60, 61
usurpations of 9
III. ... ... 13, 43, 45—47, 50, 51
V. 43
VI. 43, 46
VI., statues of 46
Ramesseum 12, 35, 43
Ramleh 38
Red Sea, canal to the 1
Rehoboam 46
Remenen, land 30
Retennu 39, 51
Romans... ... ... 58, 59, 62
Roman statues 59
Roug, E. de 21, 22

Saft el Honneh 23, 54, 57, 58
Sais 55
Saites, King 20
Saites, twenty-sixth dynasty 52
Saitic 55, 56
Sakkarah 16
Salatis 17, 20
Sallier I., papyrus 21, 25
Samanood 29, 34
Sân (Tanis) ... 4—7, 16, 21—23, 25, 29, 35, 38, 42, 46, 52, 62

PAGE

Saneha 19
Sarzec, De, discoveries of 7
Sati, goddess 41
Schent, headdress 39
Sebekhotep 15, 16, 27
Sebekhotep I. 15
III. 15
Sebua 43
Sedeinga 12, 13, 34
Sekenen Ra 21, 29
Sekhet, goddess 41, 44, 48, 54, 60
Sekhet nuter, name of Bubastis ... 43, 44, 55, 58
goddess 55
Semites 18
Semitic influence 28
words 19
Senneh 9, 15
Senkher, land 40
Set or Sutekh ... ... 21—25, 42, 45, 48, 49
of Rameses 42, 49
of Merenphthah 42
Nubti 22
Sethroite nome 17
Seti I. 14, 19, 31, 33, 35, 41, 43, 54
II. 45
Merenphthah, prince 45
Seti meri en Phtah 31
Setna, romance of 43
Setnekht 47
Sharohan 29
Shasu 19, 31
Shayaleen 4
Shepherds, *see* Hyksos 16
Shepherd kings 17
Sheshonk 46
Shet, goddess 58
Shu 42, 48
Si Amen 46
Silsilis 44
Sinai 5, 6
quarries in 7
Snefru 5
Sokaris, god 9, 14
Soleb 13, 34
Sopt, god 48, 54
South, emblem of 12
Sphinx, temple of the 7
Sphinxes, Hyksos 21
Staan, King 20
Stabl Antar 25, 29

PAGE

Statues usurped 48, 54
Stephanus Byzantinus 1
Stern, Dr. 46
Strabo 1
Susa 18
Sutekh, *see* Set.
Syene 7
Syria 20, 30, 34, 51

Tahraka 9
Takelothis I. 48
Ta Shakheper, princess 52
Teb, city 57
Tefnut, goddess 61
Tell el Amarna, tablets of 20, 30, 34
Tell el Maskhutah 37
Tell el Yahoodieh 29, 38, 57
Tell Mokdam 29
Tennu, land of 19
Tep 56
Terra-cotta coffins 60
Thebes ... ... 15, 21, 31, 46—48, 51, 52
Thehennu ... ... 38—40
Thoth, god 60, 61
Thothmes I. 29
III. ... 5, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 20, 23, 29, 30, 34
IV. 31
Timaos 17
Tiepolemos 59
Tomkins, Rev. 40

PAGE

Tonen, Phthah 41
Tum, god 6, 42, 43, 45, 48, 50, 54, 55, 58
Kheper 61
Turanians 18, 28
Turin papyrus 15, 16
Turks 28
Tybi, month 58

Uahabra, Hophra 55
Una, general 6
Uoti, goddess 41, 44, 54
Urukh 18
User en Ra 23, 24
Usertesen I. 8, 9, 14, 24
III. ... ... 8—14, 36, 47

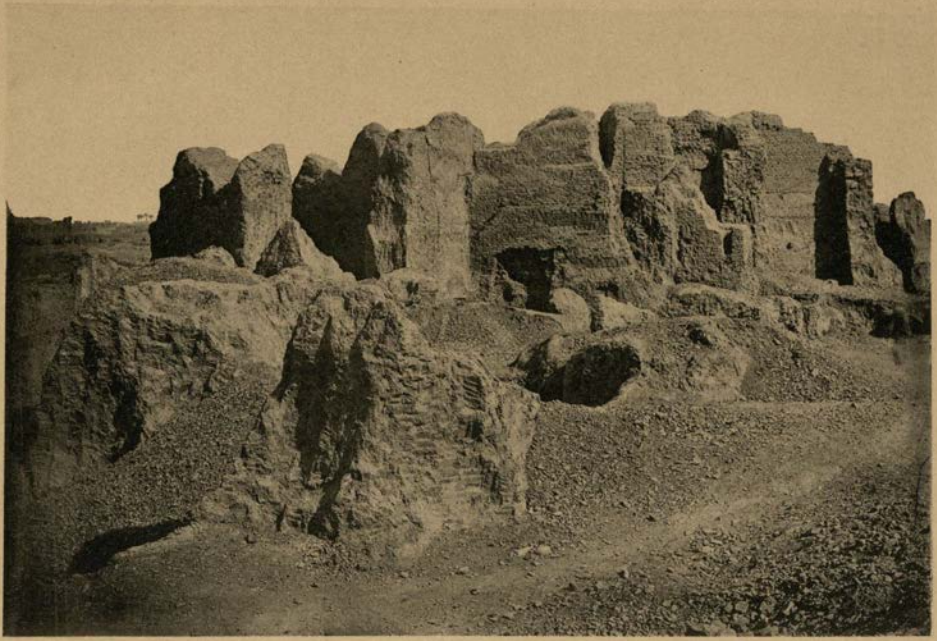
Virchow, Prof. 28, 53, 54

Wadi Magharah 5, 6
Tumilât 5, 45
Wiedemann, Prof. 15
Wilkinson, Sir Gardener 2

Xerxes 24
Xoïs 15
Xoïtes 27

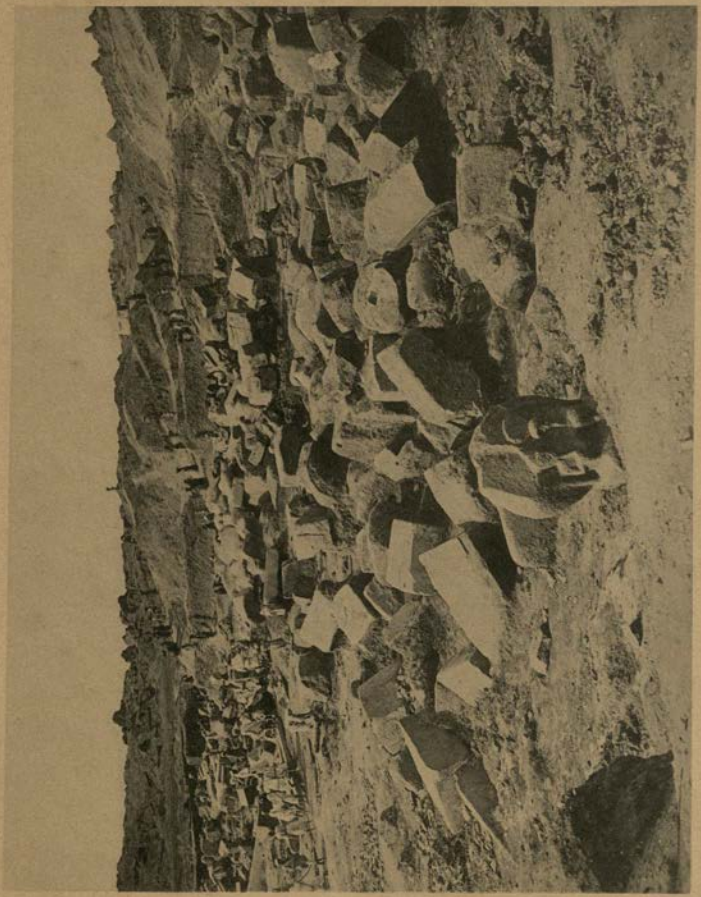
Zagazig 4, 53, 56
Zerah 51

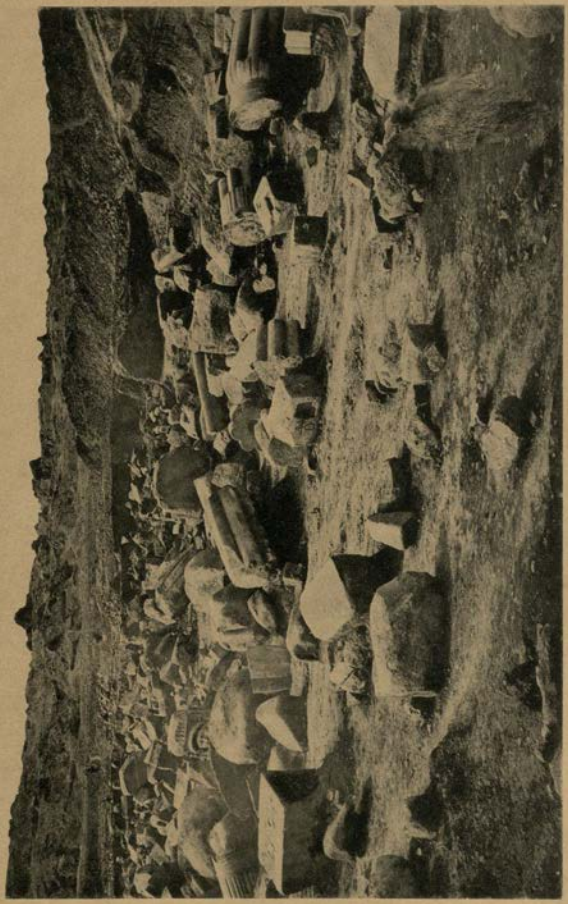
LONDON:
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LIMITED,
ST. JOHN'S HOUSE, CLERKENWELL ROAD, E.C.

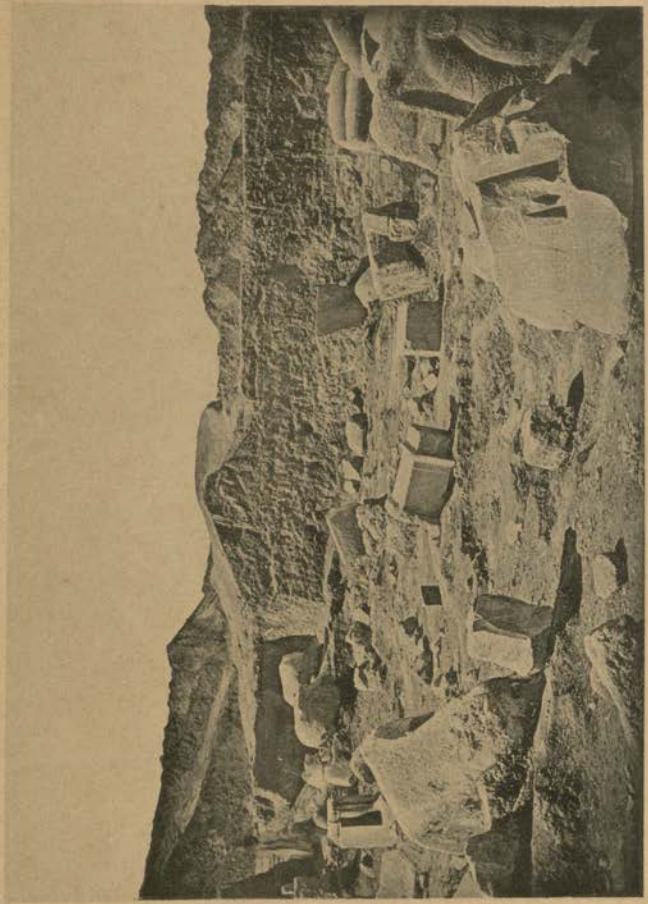


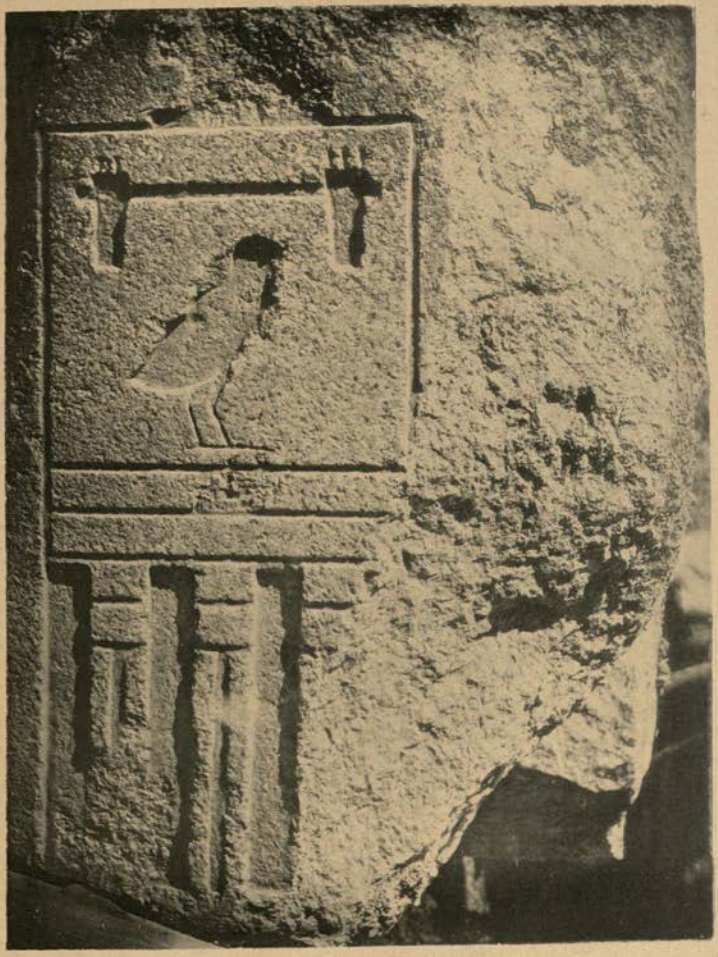
Phototypie F. Thévoz & Cie, Geneva

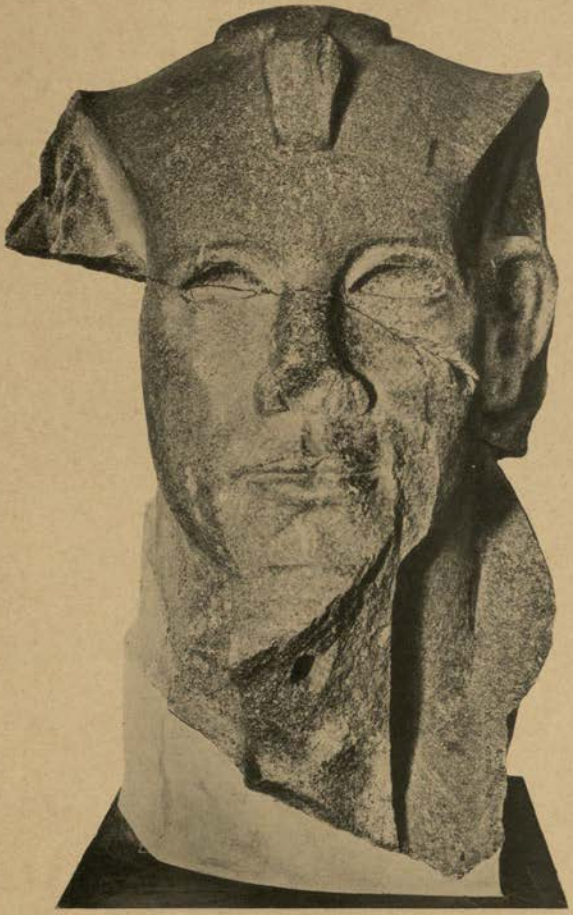
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH



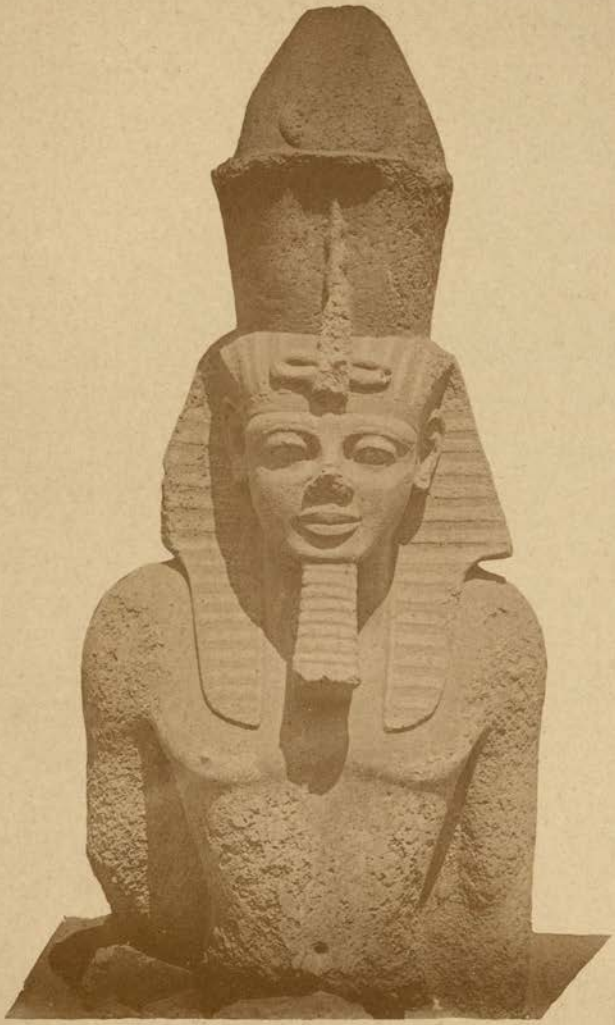


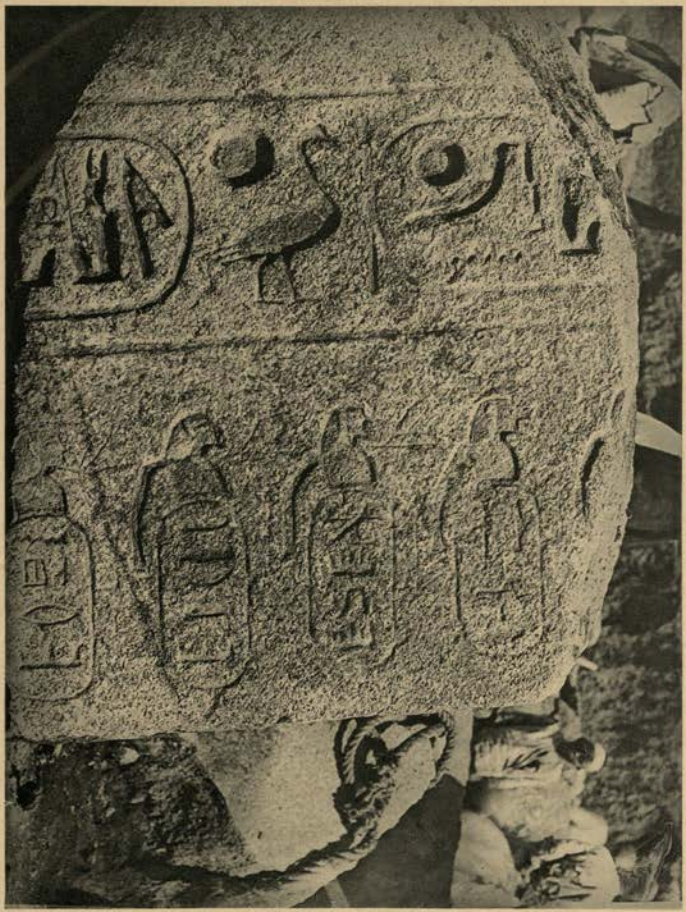


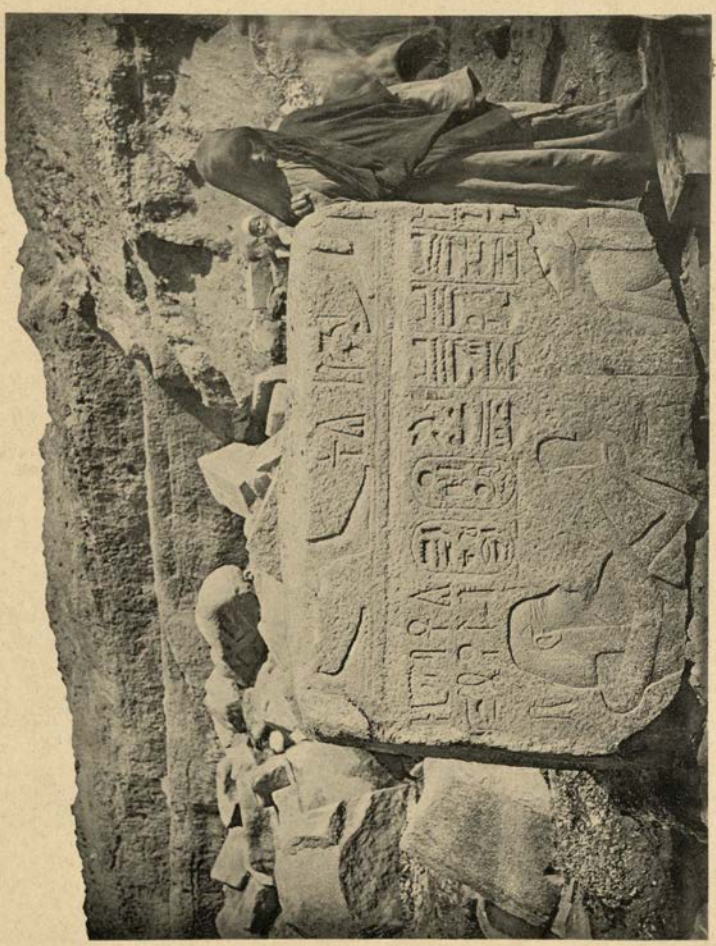


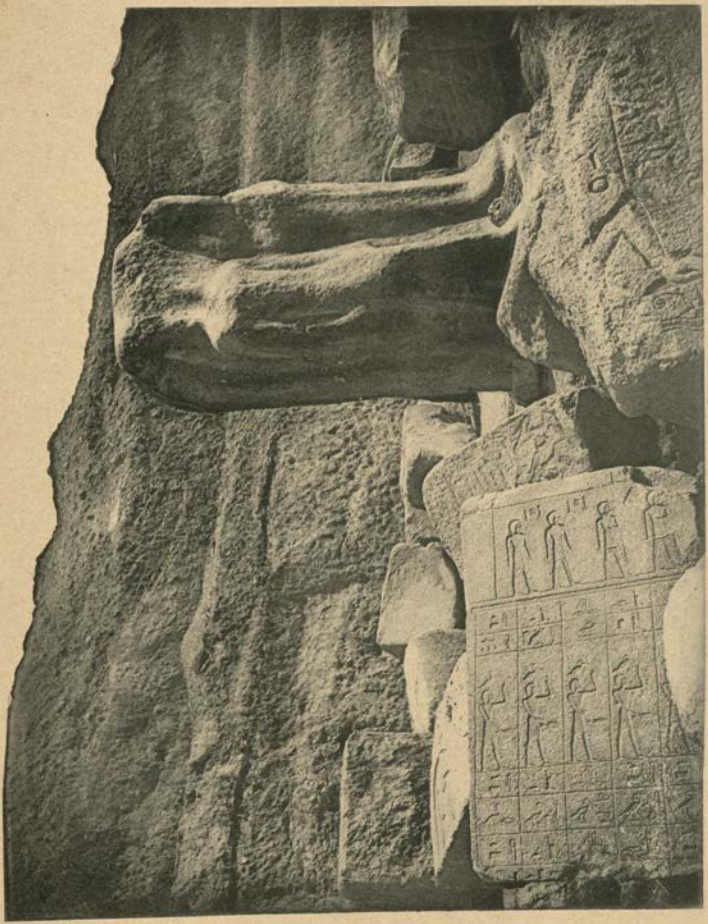


LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY





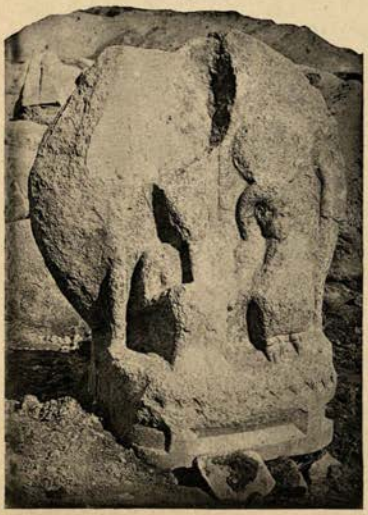




LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

A

B



C

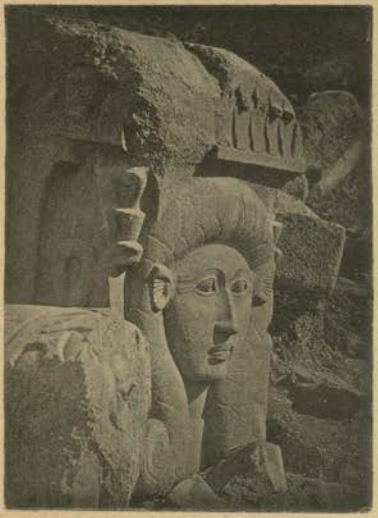
A

B

C

D

A



B

C

D

A

B

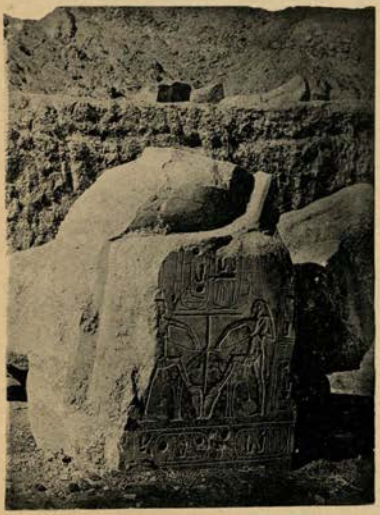
C

D

A

B

C



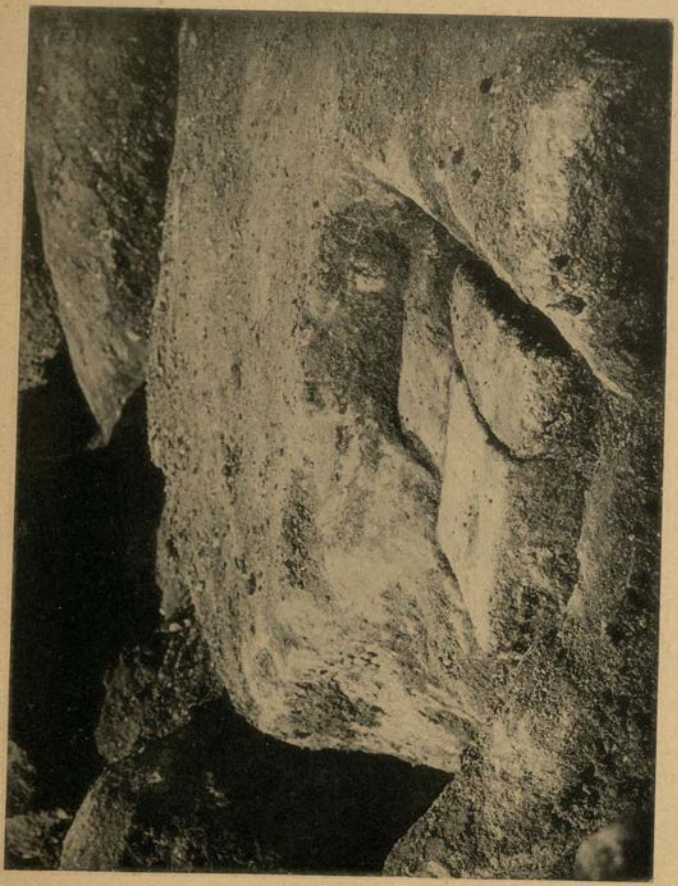
D

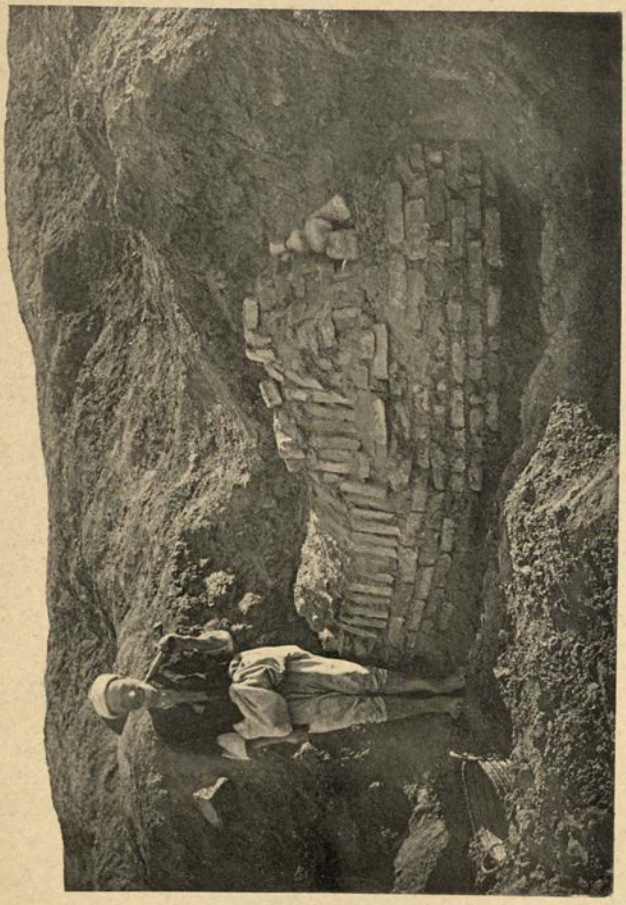
A

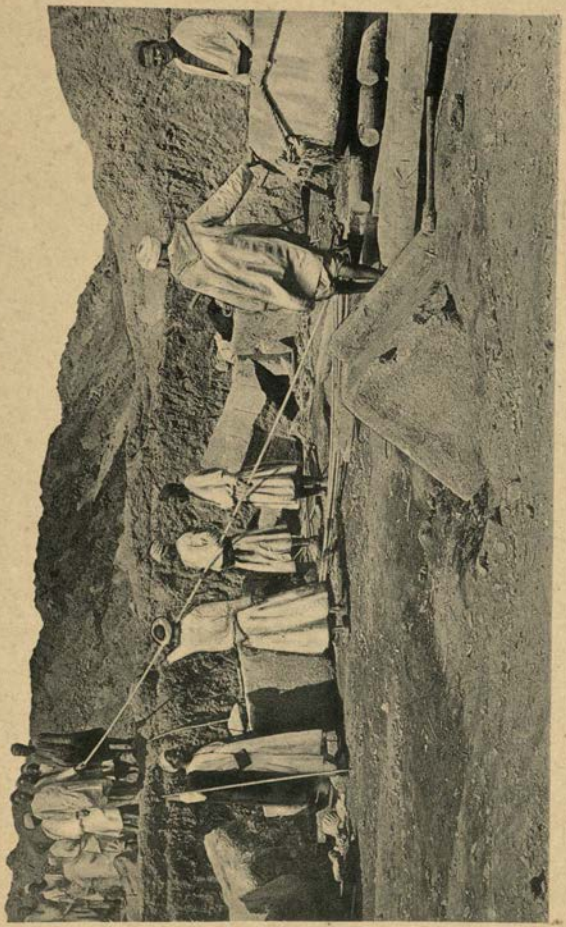
B

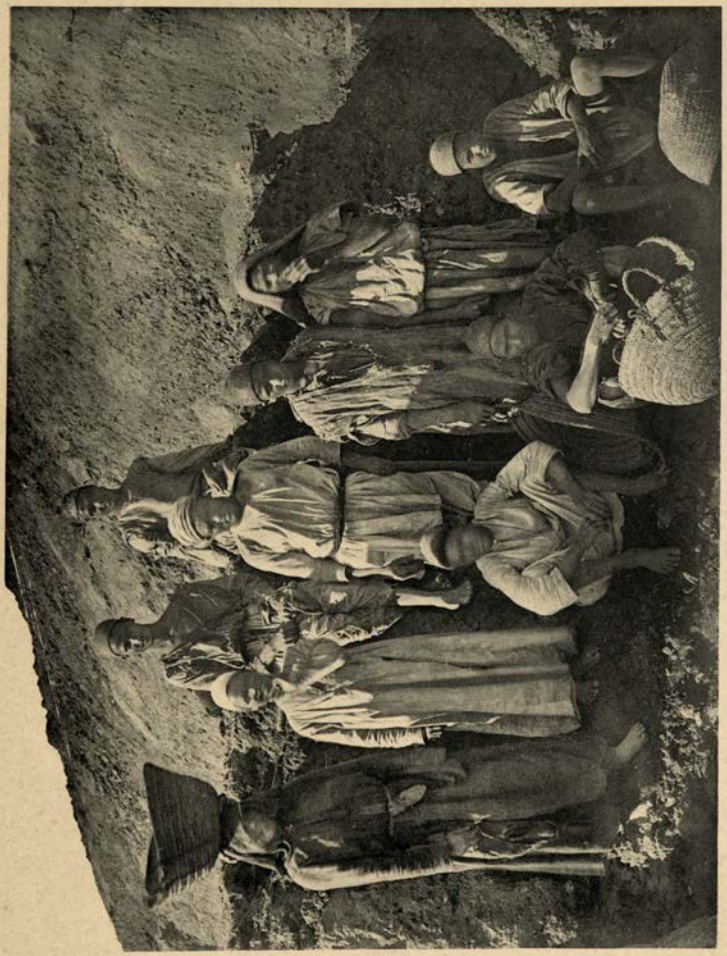
C

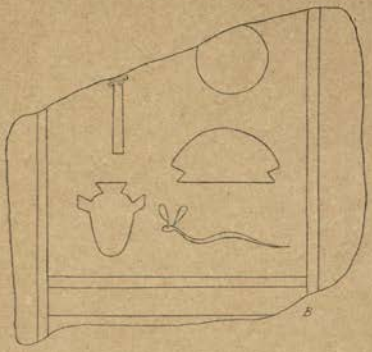
D











F1 F2

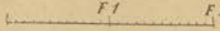
Scale

A

B

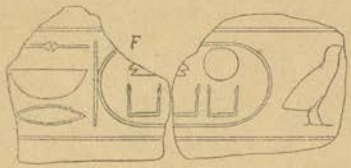
C

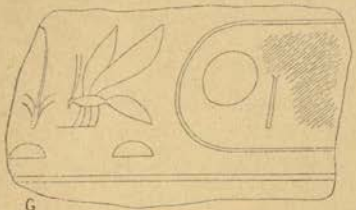
D

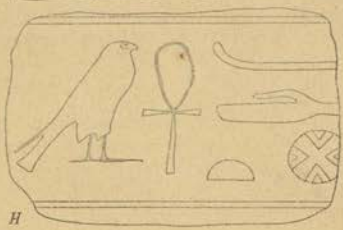


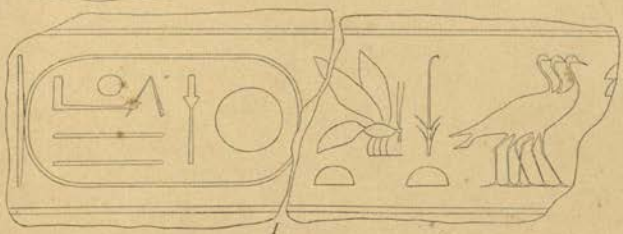
Scale

E

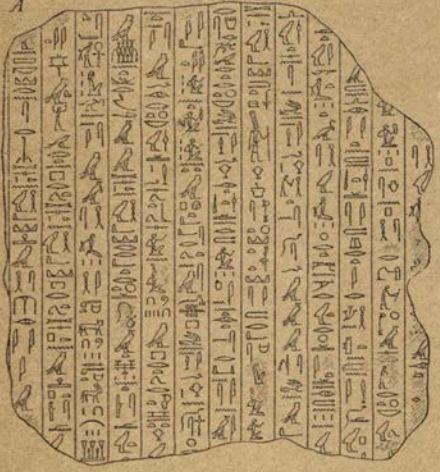

F


G


H

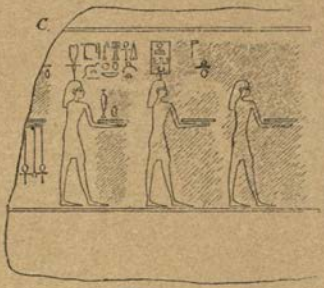

I

A



B

C

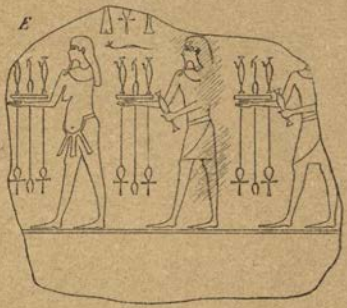


1F 2F

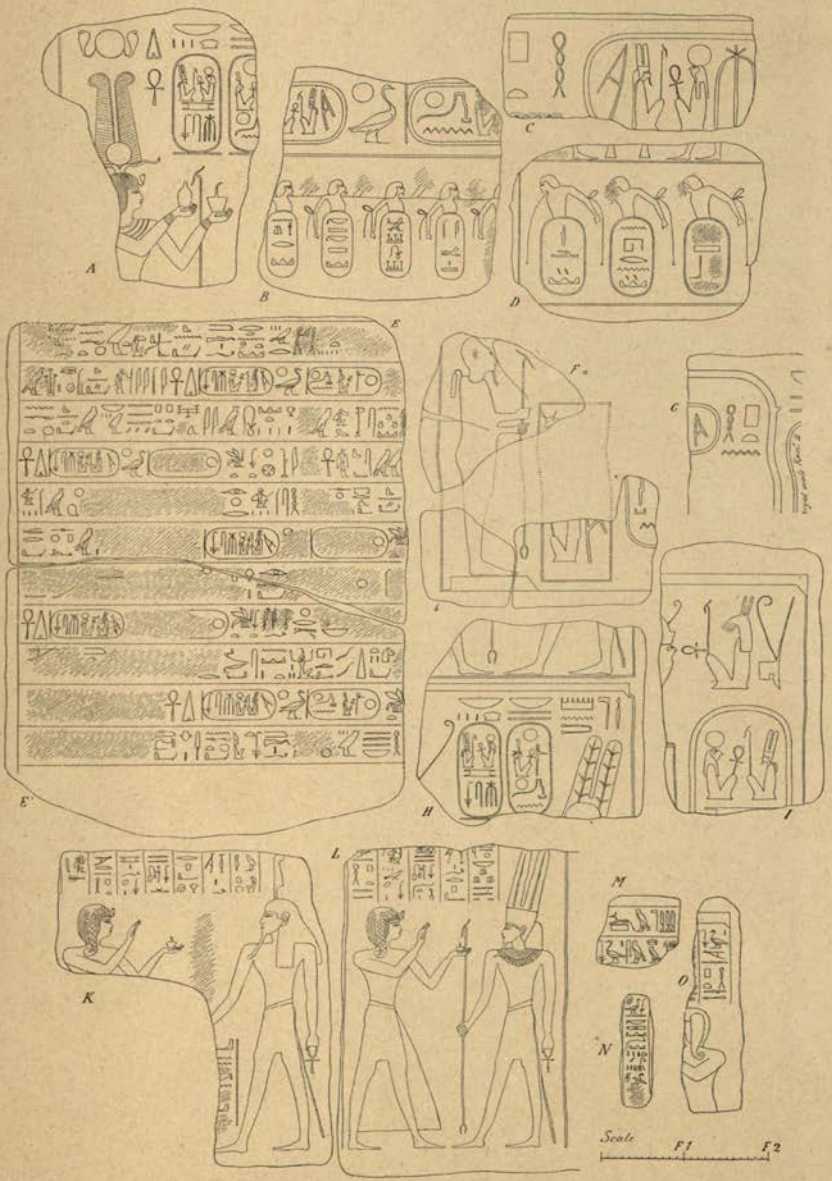
Scale.

D

E



A
B
C
D
E
E'
F
F'
F''
G
H
H'
I


A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
K
L
M
N
O
Scale
F1
F2

A

B

C

D

E

F

G

H

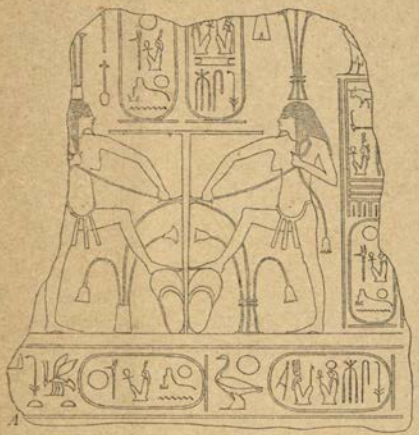
I

1F 2F

Scale

J

K

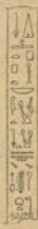

A

B

C

C

E


F

F

F

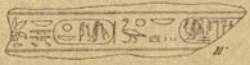
G

D

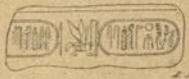
I

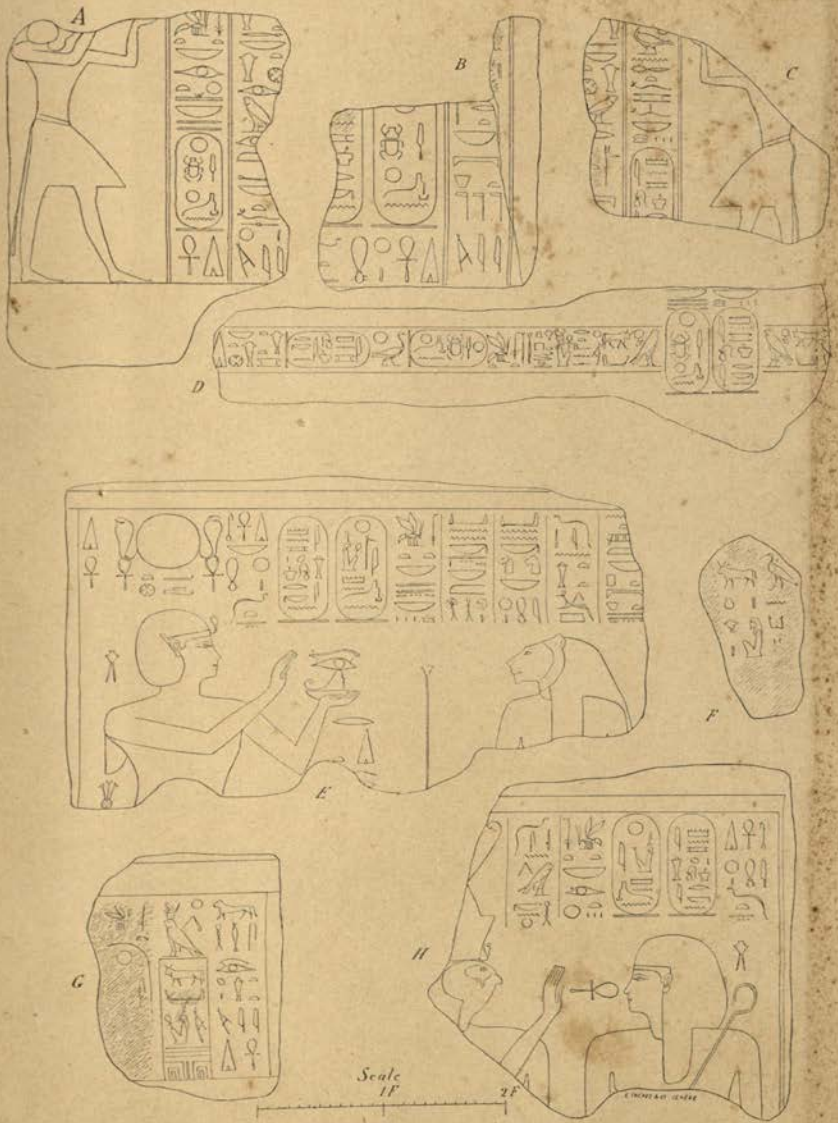
K

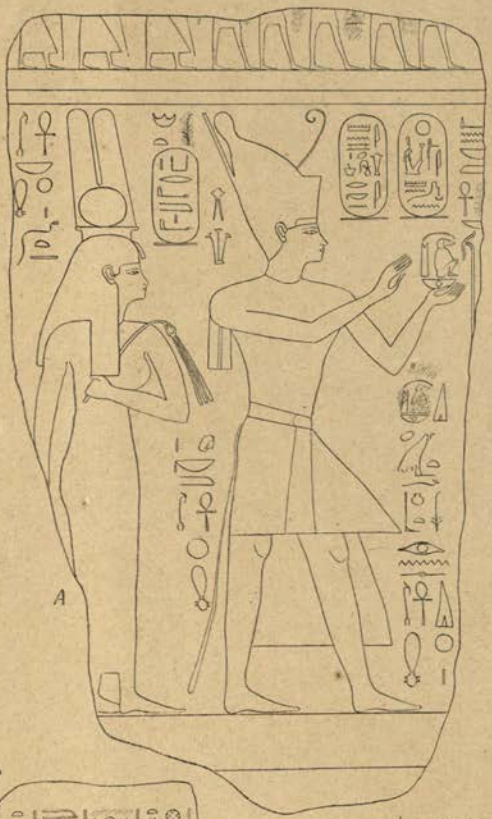
H


H

H


I


A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
Scale
1F
2F

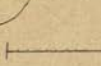

A

D

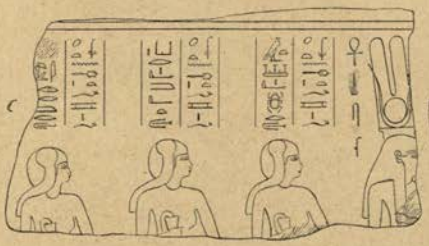
E

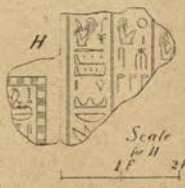
F

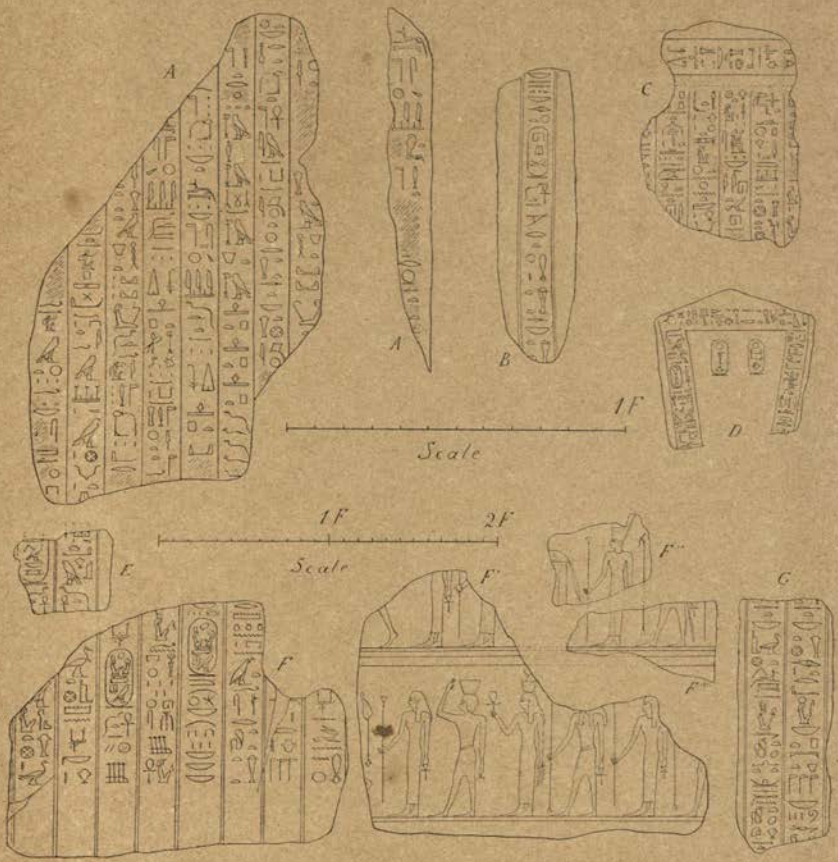
G

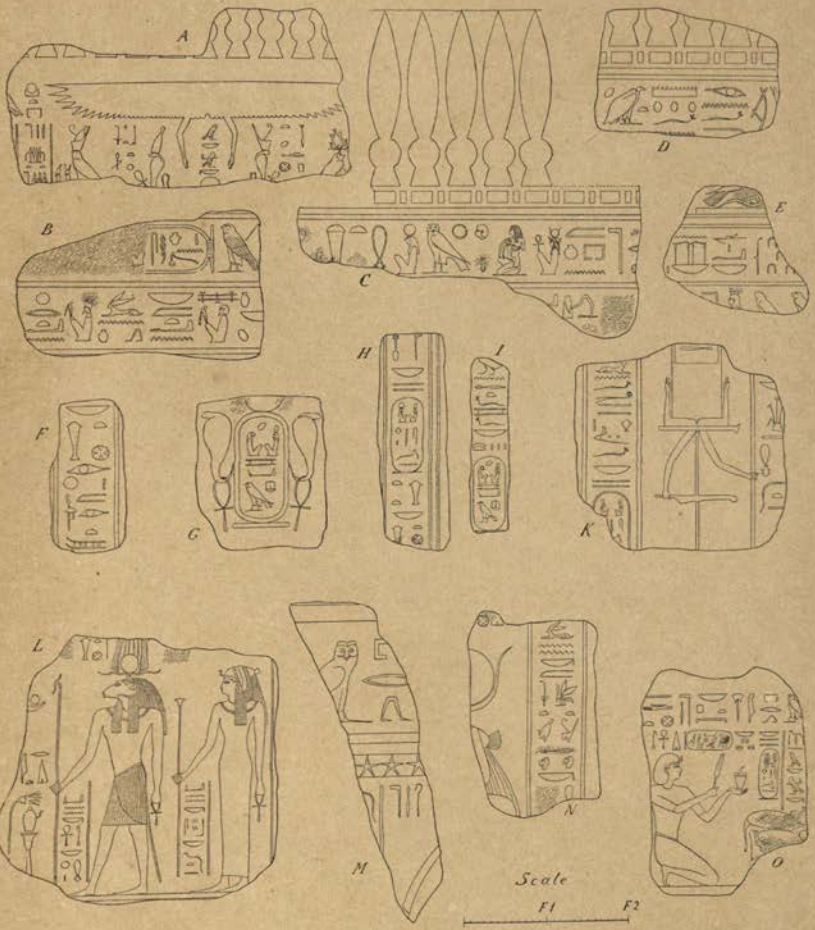

Scale A-G
1F
2F

B

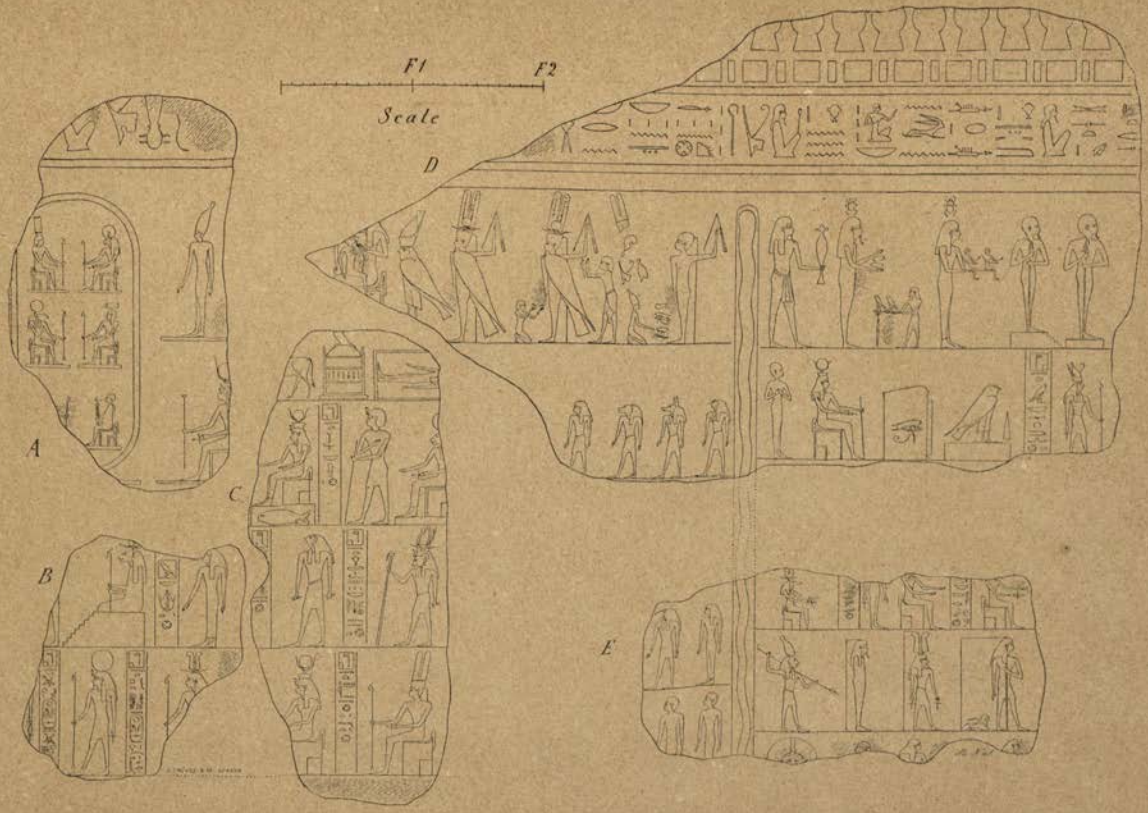

C

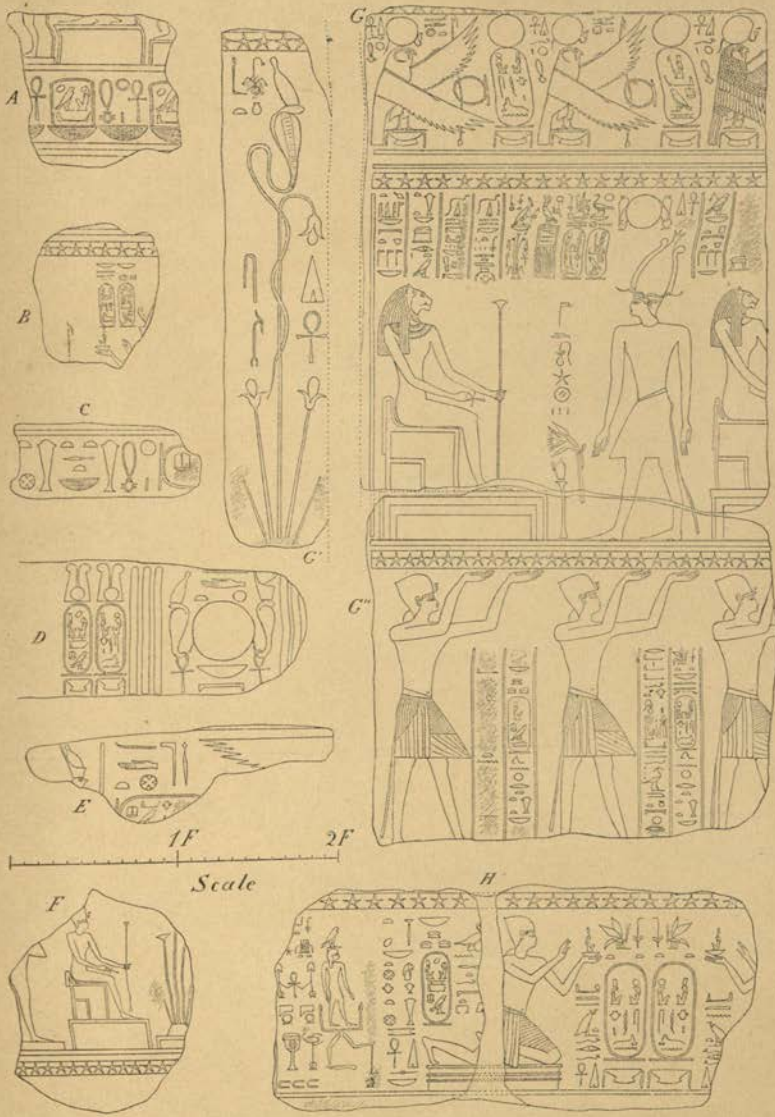

H
Scale for H
1F
2F

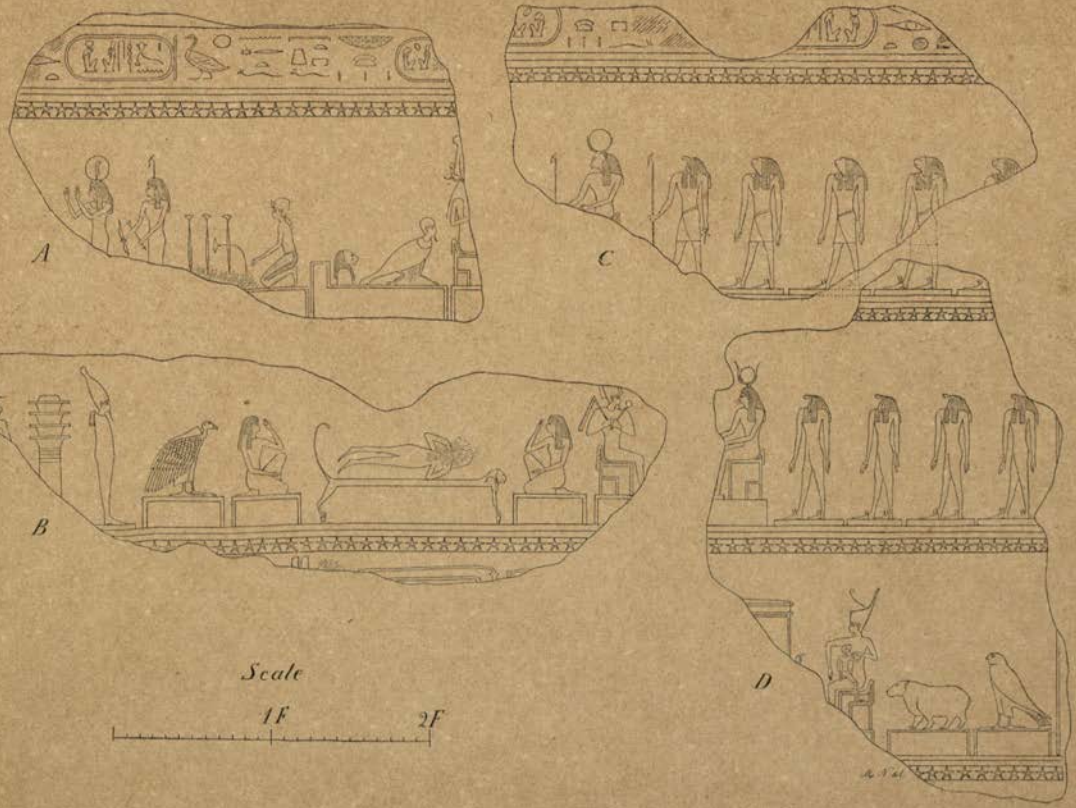

A
A
B
C
D
1F
Scale
1F
2F
Scale
E
F
F
F
F
G


A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
K
L
M
N
O
Scale
F1
F2

Pl. XLV.


F1
F2
Scale
A
B
C
D
E


A
B
C
C'
G
G'
D
C''
E
1F
2F
Scale
F
H


A
B
C
D
Scale
1F
2F

A

B

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΓΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝΘ
ΚΑΙΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΚΑΙΤΟ
ΓΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝ ΑΓΟΛΛΩ
ΤΩΝΦΙΛΩΝΟΔΙΟΙΚΗ
ΕΝΕΚΕΝΤΗΣΕΙΣΤΑ
ΑΥΤΟΝΚΑΙΤΑΤΕΚ

E

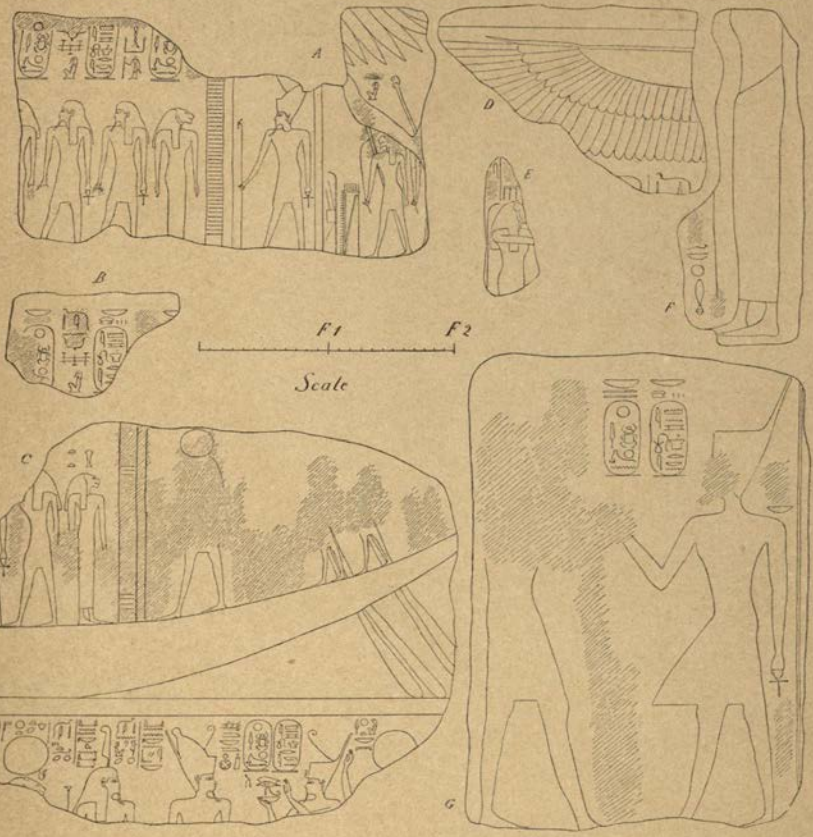
C

ΑΓΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝΘΕΩΝΟΣΤΩΝΦΙΛ
ΤΟΥΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΚΑΙΔΙΟΙΚΗΤΗΝ
ΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΟΥΑΔΕΛΦΟΝΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΩΝΔΙΑΔΟΧΩΝ
ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΤΗΣΕΙΣΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ
ΓΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΝ
ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΝΘΕΟΥΣΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΣΚΑΙ
ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΥΣΚΑΙΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΑΥΤΩΝ

F

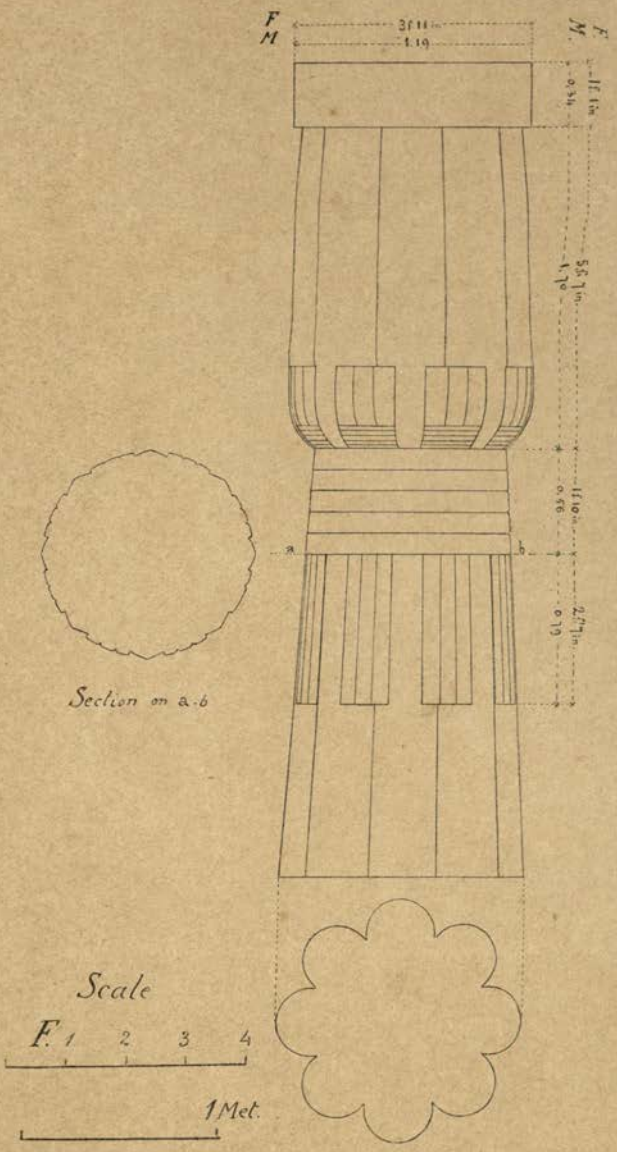
D

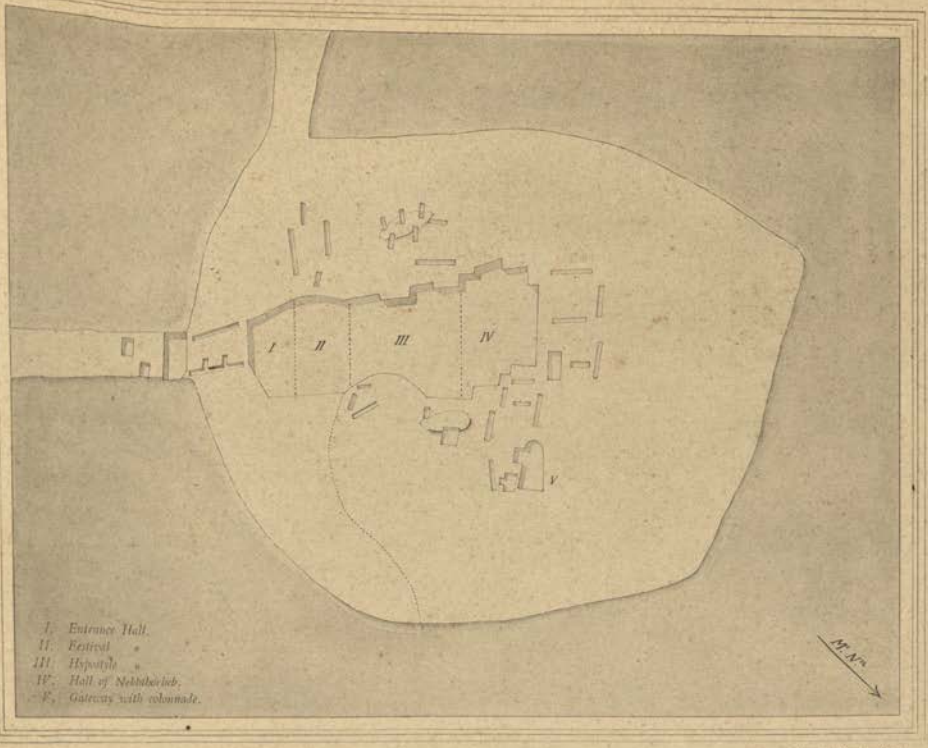
M.N. 441


A
B
C
D
E
F
G
F1
F2
Scale

Pl. LI.

G
K
O2
E
F
C2
I2
F1
F2
Scale
B
C1
I1
O1
D
H
N
N2
A
L
N1


F
M
3f 11
1.19
F
M
11 in
0.34
55 1/2 in
1.70
11 1/2 in
0.35
a
b
27 1/2 in
0.70
Section on a-b
Scale
F. 1 2 3 4
1 Met.



Drawn by Count E. d'Hulst

PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS AT BUBASTIS

PL. LIV

00082943

Digitized with financial assistance from

on 10 July, 2018